THE ORIGINAL OF *Kingly and Eccleſiaſtical* GOVERNMENT.

By *T. B.* Dr. in Divinity.

Mat. 22. 21.
Da Cæſari quæ ſunt Cæſaris.

King Jame's Baſ. Dor.
Sublato Epiſcopo tollitur Rex.

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THE

Good Reader,

WE have lived to see our profession of Christianity, to have yielded some men arguments for their taking up Armes against their lawful Soveraigns and Goverment, certainly there hath been some violence used by them herein, or else this holy Religion could never afforded them such a Topick. Submission to our lawful Governours, not only *for Wrath*, but also *for Conscience-sake*, is the great duty and glory of our profession, whilest evil Religions prompt men to rapine, blood, and violence, *Religio Christiana nil suadet nisi justum & lene.* The Original and power of Kingly Government hath of late been much disputed, whether it be (as our Saviour spake of St. *John's Baptism*) *from God* or *from men*; this Author (I think) hath evinced the former, and if so, subjection is our duty; tis not *male* administration or persecution (as some men call it) can ever warrant the Subjects Arms against his Prince. The Christian Church gives no Example, nor our Religion any precept for such undertakings;

If it then be Religion (as some men would have us think) they fought for, why do they use unlawful weapons? must prayers and tears be turned into Pike and Musket because a *Nero* is thy Governour? The Church of God knows no such usage, the legal dispensation it self, which will be acknowledged somewhat harsh in respect of the Gospel, will not permit a holy *David*, tho a man after Gods own heart, to build his Temple, for that he was a man of battel and his hands were bloody; peace, meekness, charity, and submission to our lawful Government, are the effects and true signs of real Christanity, the other is but spurious and Apocryphal. To inform our Reader of the rise of Kingly Government is the design of this pious Author, and to perswade us to subjection to our Civil as well as Ecclesiastick Governors, is the main intention and scope of his undertakings; which I hope (good Reader) by a due perusal of this small Book may be well attained as the thing it self is well made out by the Author, and so I leave thee to the use of the Book.

THE

THE ORIGINAL OF GOVERNMENT.

CHAP. I.

Who was the first Founder, or the first that instituted the Office of KINGS.

WEE, say some People, were the first that desir'd them, and moved for them, and had them, and chose them. *And all the people went to Gilgal, and there they made Saul King before the Lord in Gilgal.* 1 Sam. 11. 15. 1 Sam. 8. 5.

Soft and fair, good people; do not mistake your selves; you desired, and moved for, and would have, and had a King, but God *gave* him you: *I gave thee a King, O Israel, in mine anger, and I took him away in my wrath,* Hosea 13. 10, 11. According to this we read *Acts* 13. 21. *They desired a King, and God gave unto them Saul, &c.*

And for your making of a King at *Gilgal*, your making was but approving, and applauding him, that was made already; for *Saul* was both made a King, and confirmed King, and executed his Office, before the people are said to have made him King in *Gilgal*: *He was anointed King over Israel*, 1 Sam. 10. 1. *he was confirmed by signs*, 1 Sam. 10. 2, 3, 4, &c. *he executed his Office*, 1 Sam. 11. 7, 8.

God first, sent.

And secondly, shewed.

And thirdly, chose.

And fourthly, anointed.

And fifthly, found them out a King, before ever it is said, they made him.

First, God sent him; *I will send thee a Man out of the Tribe of Benjamin, and thou shalt anoint him to be Captain over my people.*

Secondly, God shewed him; for neither the people, nor any of the Saints, nor the *Elders* of *Bethlehem*, no, nor *Samuel* himself, knew not *where* to find this first of Kings, 'till God said, *This is he, he shall reign over my people*, 1 Sam. 9. 17.

Thirdly, God chose him himself; and *Samuel* said to all the people, *See him whom the Lord hath chosen*, 1 Sam. 10. 24. If the people had made him themselves, or could make him, what needed they to have come unto *Samuel*, to bid him, *make us a King to judge us*? 1 Sam. 8. 5. and to say, *give us a King*? Which deprecation was indeed no otherwise, than as if they should have desired *Samuel* to have asked a King for them of the Lord; for so it seems by the sequel,

for

for immediately hereupon *Samuel* went unto the Lord, and declared their importunity, and the Lord said, that *he should hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they said unto him*, verse 7. and this most certain and agreeable unto 1 *Sam.* 1. where *Samuel* tels the people; *Ye have this day rejected your God*, &c. *and have said unto him, set a King over us*

Fourthly, God anointed him; *Samuel took a violl of Oyl and poured it on his head, and kissed him, and said, is it not because he hath anointed thee to be Captain over his Inheritance*, 1 *Sam* 10. 1.

Fifthly, God found him out for them, where he was hidden from them; for when all the Tribes of *Israel* were come together, and the Tribe of *Benjamin* was taken, and the families of that Tribe drew neer; and the family of *Matri* was taken out of those *families*, and *Saul* the son of *Kish* from thence: 1 Sam. 10. 20, 21. (the smallest Tribe, the least *family*, the poorest *Benjamite*, as shewing us that Kings were not to have derivation from the mighty people, but from the almighty God: 1 *Sam.* 9. 21.) the people sought him but they could not find him, so that they were fain to enquire of the Lord for him, and *the Lord shewed them where he had hid himself in the stuffe*; 1 *Sam.* 12. 22. so that all that the people of *Israel* had to doe, either in the Election, Institution, Nomination, Creation, or Invention of their first King, was (when God had done all this) to shout, and say, *God save the King*, 1 *Sam.* 10. 24, and for their making a King, after all this in *Gilgall*, it could be no otherwise than their

their approbation of him, who was thus made by God already.

Neither was God only the founder of the first King of the *Jews*, but of all the rest also: He was *Davids* founder too, *I have found David my servant, with my holy Oyl have I anointed him*, Psal. 89. 20. It was well for *David*, for he should have been but a poor King, if he had been but of the peoples finding; and it may be they would not have known what to have made of him when they had found him. *David* was not *filius populi*, but *Dei, the son of God*, not of the people: *Psalm* 89.26. He was neither exalted of the people, nor chosen of the people, *I have exalted one chosen out of the people*, said God, (vers. 19.) but the exaltation was Gods, and the *choice* not of, but out of the people.

Kings are not children of the most *voices*, but children of the *most high*, Psal. 82.6. yet the approbation of the people may serve *ad pompam*, but not *ad necessitatem*; it may add something to the solemnity, but nothing to the essence of the constitution; what was divinely given, may be humanely received, and so are Kings.

Neither will we speak of the King, or the first of the Kings of *Judah* or *Israel*, but we will go along with the first King that e're was read of (if there be not Books ancienter than the Books of *Moses*) and that was *Melchisedec* King of *Salem*: this *Melchisedec* is said to have neither Father nor Mother; it could not be said so in regard of his person, for we all know who he was, and who his Father and Mother were; he

was

was *Sem*, the eldeſt ſon of *Noah*, but it was ſaid ſo, in reſpect of his Office; ſhewing us, that Kings, they are not the off-ſpring of men, but an emanation from the *Deity*, and teaching us, that as Kings are not of the Peoples making, ſo they ought not to be of the peoples marring, and as they are not the founders, ſo they ought not to be the confounders of them; *cujus eſt inſtituere, ejus eſt abrogare*, they that inſtitute, may abrogate, they that make, may unmake, what thou buildeſt thy ſelfe, thou maiſt lawfully pull down; thou maiſt *diruere edificare mutare, quadrata rotundis*, but if thou deſtroyeſt that which another hath built, thou maiſt chance to be ſued for dilapidations: If a Limner draw a picture, he may alter and change it, and if he diſlike it, race it out at his pleaſure; or if a Carver or Ingraver miſlike his one handy-work, he may deſtroy it when he pleaſes; but if God makes a man after his own Image, and creates him, after his own ſimilitude, we offend God in a high degree, when we cut off, or deface the leaſt part, or member of his handy-work.

Now Kings are lively repreſentations, living ſtatues, or pictures, drawn to the life, of the great Deity; theſe pictures, for their better continnance, are done in Oyl, the colours of the Crown never fade; they are no water colours; as Kings with their own ſtatues will not be angry, though time and age devour them, yet they will not ſuffer them ſpitefully to be thrown down, or ſhot againſt; ſo God,

God, though he will suffer Kings to die like men, and fall like other Princes; yet he will not suffer his Character, spitefully to be raced, or his Image defaced; but though he will have them dye like men, yet he will have them live like Gods. And if all this be not proof suiciffient, you shall hear God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost affirm as much. God the Father plainly affirms, *John* 10. 34. *Dixi dii estis*, I have said ye are Gods; but if the stroke had been in the People, then it should have been, *Nos diximus dii estis*, we have said ye are Gods. God the Son told *Pilate*, *Thou shouldest have no power except it were* (data desuper) *given from above*; but if the people had given him that power, then it should have been, *Thou shouldest have no power, except it were* (data desubter) *given from beneath*; and I am sure the Holy Ghost tels us, *per me Reges regnant*, by me Kings reign; but if they reigned by the suffrage of the People, then it should have been *per nos*, according to the modern dialect, they *Reign by us*, and as long as we think fit, and when we think it fit no longer, they shall reign no more; they received their authority from us, and we may recall it when we please, and depose them when we list; for they are but proxies and Atornies, of the people, see *Buch. de jure Regni, Fickerus, & Renecherus, &c.* little thinking how by this powerfull doctrine of theirs, they (quite contrary to the word of God) destroy the higher powers, and give the whole Trinity the lie at once: and if these testimonies are not

sufficient, I know why they are not, because they never were confirmed by Act of Parliament

CHAP. II.

Whether the People can make a King or not.

IF the Question be asked, whether the people doe make the King or not? I could no more grant it, then I should grant, that the people made heaven; but if you ask me, whether the people can make a King (such a one as they use to make) if they have not one already of Gods making, they may; such are Kings and no King; not *Reges* but *Regentes ad placitum*: Kings by Election, are allways Kings upon condition, and where the condition is so little worth, the obligation is the lesse, and but small security will be required: for my own part I should be ashamed to ware a Crowne on my head, when the people must raigne, and the King stand under the penthouse: and I had as live they should make me a *jack a lent*, for apprentices to throw their cudgels at me, as to make me a King to be controuled by their Masters, and every Tribune of the People; for as an invitation to a dinner where there is no meat, is but a distastfull banquet, so the name of a King without its *adjuncts*, is but a savourless renown; and in deed such as they are not *Actu Reges*, they do but *agere Regem*, they are not

actual Kings, they doe but act the part of a King, and I hold him that acts the part of a King an hour upon the ſtage, to be as real a King for his time and territories as the beſt King by election, who is choſen but for his life; herein conſiſts the difference, as the one muſt act his part as the Poets pleaſe, ſo the other muſt act his part as the people pleaſe; they muſt have their parts given them, they muſt act it accordingly, they muſt not ſo much as tread the Stage awry; their ſubjects are both ſpectators and judges, and it lies within the favour of the next ſociety, whether or no the Son ſhall come to act the Fathers part. Such Kings as theſe the people may make, but to make a *ſacred* and *Anoynted* King, an eſtabliſhed and ſucceſſive *Monarch*, a King that hath this *Hereditatem* in him, a King that hath this *Noli me tangere* about him; whoſe Writs were alwaies termed *Sacri apices*, whoſe commands *divalis juſſio*, whoſe preſence *Sacra Veſtigia*, whoſe Throne is the Lords, whoſe Scepter is his Rod, whoſe Crowne is his favour, and whoſe repreſentation is of himſelfe; the People can no more make ſuch a deity then ſo many tapers can make a glorious Sunne, or ſo many ſparks of ſprey and faggots, can make a firmament of Stars,

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

What is meant by Anoynting of KINGS.

ANointing, in severall places of Scripture, betokens some spirituall grace, as *Jam*, 5. 14 *Call the Elders of the Church, and let them pray over the sicke, anoynting him with oyl in the name of the Lord:* which the Roman-Catholicks call extream unction, though now adays, we only make use of the extremity and leave out the unction: and therefore some will have the anoynting of Kings to signifie some spirituall grace also, which shall inable them with Religion and aptness to govern well; which when they cease to doe, their anointing falleth off, and they cease to be *Kings*; if they be not good, they are none of Gods anointed, and if they be not his anointed, they care not whose they are. This doctrine hath caused the shedding of more bloud than there is now running in the veins of living Christians; whereas the truth is, it is neither Religion, nor virtue, nor grace that is meant by this Royall *Anointing*; *Cyrus* was *Christus Domini* as well as *Josias*, and *Saul* as well as *David*: If Religion were that that did the deed, then *Cyrus* had not been the Lords *Anoynted*; if vertue, then no *Saul*; if grace, neither: If Religion make Kings, then there should have been of old no Kings; but those of *Iudah*; and now no Kings, but those of Christendome. It is *Jus regiandi* that he meant

by this Royal Anointing; and *Unction* confers no grace, but declares a juſt title only; *unxit in regem*, he anointed him King, includes nothing but a due title, excludes nothing but uſurpation; gives him the adminiſtration to govern, not the gift to govern well; the right of ruling, not of ruling right: Kings are anoynted with *Oyl*, to ſhew, that as they have Thrones to ſignifie that they are the Ciſtern of Iuſtice, and Crowns to ſignifie that they are the Fountains of honours, and Scepters to ſignifie that the hands which hold them, are the Magazines wherein the whole ſtrength & amunition of Kingdoms are repoſed: So anointing is a ſacred ſignature betokening ſoveraignty, obedience to the Throne, ſubmiſſion to the Scepter, allegiance to the Crown, and ſupremacy to the Oyl muſt needs be given, for Oyl will have it: pour Oyl and Wine, and Water, and Vinegar, or what other liquor you pleaſe together, Oyl will be ſure to be uppermoſt: the three firſt ceremonies make him but high and mighty, and puiſſant, but the laſt only makes him ſacred, and therefore ſome have maintained that a King is *mixta perſona cum Sacerdote*, whether he be ſo or no I will not here inſiſt; but ſure I am, that there is much divinity in the very name, and eſſence of Kings; which duly conſidered and belived, that Kings are thus ſacred (as we ought, and Gods word informs us) we would take heed how we touch, take warning how we tear and rend in peices, as much as in us lies (with thoſe leaden Meſſengers of Death (with their gunpowder Commiſſions) to

to fetch the higher to the lower powers, and make the King a Subject to the subjects wills; the sacred person of so great Majesty; whereas the cutting off but a peice of the lappe of *Aarons* garment, hath checkt a greater spirit, then the proudest riser up against his Soveraigne. We would not speak so despicably of the Lords anointed; what is the King? he is but a man, he is but one he hath a soul to be saved as well as others; for though all this be true, yet the end for which all this is said, is most false and abominable, for though it be true that the King is but a man, yet it is also true, that that man is the light of *Israel*, 2 Kin. 8.19. We must take heed how we put it out. And though it be true, that such a piece of silver, is but a piece of silver, yet as it bears *Cæsars* Image and superscription upon it, it is more significant; and if thou either *pare* or *impare* it a jot, if thou art found either clipping, or diminishing of it in the least degree, thou dost it to the prejudice of thine own life; so though a King be but a man as in himself, yet as he bears representation of God, and hath his character stamped upon him, he is some-what more, if you will beleive him that said *Ye are Gods*, Psalm 82.6. and therefore we must take heed how we debase or detract from them who represent so great a *Deity*, who by reason of their proximity and nearnesse unto God in some respects are most commonly of more discerning spirits then ordinary men: for *Mephibosheth*, when his servant had so grievously slandred him to *David*, he makes but a short complaint,

My servant hath slandred me; but (as if he should say, I need not tell thee much, thou hast wisedom enough to find it out) *My Lord the King is as an Angel of God, doe therefore what is good in thine own eyes:* Therefore because thou art as an Angel of God, and thy selfe art a good intelligencer, as all Angels are, do what is good in thine own eyes; as if he should have said, if thou doest only that which seemeth to be good in other mens eyes, it may be they will perswade thee that the thing was true, wherein my servant slandred thy servant poor *Mephibosheth*, and he suffer wrongfully. I am of opinion that God gives to every King to whom he communicates his name and authority, this extraordinary gift of discerning; but because they do not sometimes make use of it to the end it was bestowed upon them, *viz.* (the better goverment of their severall Dominions) but are contented to see and discerne with other mens eyes; and to have false spectacles put upon their noses, whereby many a good man suffers: God in his justice gives them over, that in their own particular, and wherein their own greatest good is chiefly concerned, they shall make least use of their own judgements and advice, and wholly give themselves to be overswayed by the advice of those, whose judgements perhaps is not so good as their own, and whose intentions (it may be) are no better then they should be.

It is written that the hearts of Kings are in the hands of the Lord, and he disposeth them as seemeth best to his heavenly wisdome; certainly

tainly I would take a little advice from that heart, that is so directed by that hand; the Kings head never plotted treason against the Crown, and no man can wish better to his Majesty then the King. I speak not this in derogation either of the Great or Privy Councel *(for it is written, in the multitude of councellors there is safety)* but in defence only of these sons of Oyl, who are Supreme in both. And as it is true that the King is but one man, so it is also true, that one man is worth ten thousand of the people; *Thou art worth ten thousands of us (though all his worthies were in place)* 2 Sam. 18. 3. And though it be true, that the King hath a soul to be saved as well as others, yet it is also true, that he should have no body to be crucified by his Subjects, out of their dis-esteem of his person, the ceremonies of State (as Anointing, sitting in Thrones, holding of Scepters, and coronation it self) being to be exploded now a days; and who look'd for it otherwise, when the lawful and decent ceremonies of the Church were called reliques of Popery, and raggs of the whore of *Babilon:* was it otherwise to be expected, but that they would call these ceremonies of state, *theatrica pompa:* Stage plays, Toyes: tush say they, what need all these Fopperies, a Kings Throne is his Iustice, his Crown his Honour, his Scpeterand heisest strength, the peoples hearts; his holy Oyl is his Religion, and

See *Buch. de Jure Reg.*

and zeal to Gods Glory; and so it is, what then? may we not have the signs, and the things signified also? because the true receiving of the Communion, is the receiving of the body, and blood of Christ by faith; therefore shall we have no bread and wine? Or because that true Baptism is the washing away of original sin, with the laver of regeneration; therefore shall we have no water powred on the Child? we have Scripture for these ceremonies, and I am sure we have no Scripture for the abolishing of them, but rather Scripture for their continuation for ever. *Reges in solio collocat in perpetuum:* God establishes Kings upon their Thrones for ever, *Job.* 36.7.

CHAP. IV.

Why they are called the Lords Anointed.

THe Lords Anointed, is as much as to say the Lords *Christ*, and *Christi* signifieth *Anointed ones*: In the Hebrew you shall read it, who shall lay his hand upon the Lords *Messiah?* for the Lords Anointed. 1 *Sam.* 26.9. In the Greek, who can lay his hand upon the Lords *Christ*. Kings are taken into the society of Gods name, *Dixi dii estis*, I have said ye are Gods; and here into the society of Christs name, and all to terrifie subjects from lifting up their hands against the Lords Anointed, as much as if he were God or Christ himself.

Again, Kings are not termed *uncti Domini* (for that were no prerogative to them at all) but

but *Christi Domini*, for not only persons, but things also, were Anointed under the Law; not only Kings, but Priests and Prophets likewise; neither did it rest there, but it extended to the Tabernacle it self, and ran down to the vessels thereof, even to the very Fireforks, Ashpans, and Snuffers: but unto whom said he any time, *tu es Christus meus*, Heb. 1. 4, 5. but unto Christ, and Kings? to Christ once, *Luke* 2. 26. to Kings thirty two times throughout the Bible; four times by God himself; Kings are called *Christi mei*, mine anointed; six times to God, *Christi tui*, thine anointed, ten times of God, *Christi ejus*, his anointed; twelve times in terms terminant, *Christi Domini*, the Lords anointed: and therefore the old Translator observed it rightly, when in the same word, in the Hebrew, and the Greek, he speaks of the priest, he translates it *unctus*; but when of the King (always) *Christus*.

And as they are not *uncti*, but *Christi*, so they are not *Christi populi*, but *Christi Domini*; not the peoples Anointed, but the Lords Anointed; there may be a master of the ceremonies, but there must be no master of the substance; they are the Lord's Christs, and they hold their Kingdoms under him, in Kings service: neither are the Kingdoms of the Earth any bodies else but Gods: *The Kingdoms are Gods*, Dan. 4. 17. neither are they at any mans disposing but his, *He giveth them to whom he pleaseth*, (*loco citato*) therefore for whose they are, they

are

are the Lords; and for what they are, they may thank him and none else.

Secondly, They are the Lords, because that by him, and in him, and through him, they have their Dominion, and regiment; from him they have their Crowns; from his hands their Coronation: *Diadema Regis in manu Dei*, Esay 60. 3. The Royal Diadem is in the hand of God, and out of that hand he will not part with it so much, as for another, to place it upon the Kings head; but it must be *tu posuisti (tu Domine)* Thou, O Lord, hast set a Crown of pure Gold upon his head, *Psal.* 21. 3.

The Emperours used to stamp their Coyn with a hand coming out of the clouds, holding a Crown, and placing it upon their heads; We have no such *Hierogliphicks* in our Coyn, as a hand coming out of a cloud; but we have grace from Heaven, *Dei gratia*, so that there is not a King but may say with the Apostle, *Gratia Dei sum qui sum*, by the grace of God I am that I am; and indeed Kings are Kings, as *Paul* was an Apostle, *not of men, neither by man, but by God.*

Thirdly, they are the Lord's Christs; because, not only their Crowns are in the hands of the Lord, but he puts the Scepter into theirs: nay, the Scepters which Princes hold in their hands, are Gods Scepters, being there, *virga Dei in manibus ejus*, It is Gods rod that is in their hands, *Exod.* 17. 9. and therefore right is the *Motto* (and reason is it that they should be esteemed the Lords Anointed.)

DIEU

DIEV ET MON DROIT, GOD AND MY RIGHT; none elſe have to do with it, the Scepter of a Kingdom, in the hands of a King, is the livery and ſeiſin which is given him by God, of the whole *Militia*, within his Dominion: they that take away that, put a reed into the hand of *Chriſts Anointed:* and why ſhould it be expected that they ſhould deal otherwiſe with Chriſts Anointed, then they did with Chriſt himſelf, firſt put a Reed in his hand, and afterwards a Spear into his heart.

Fourthly, Kings are the Lords Anointed, becauſe they ſit upon his Throne: *ſedebat Solomon in Throno Dei*, Solomon *ſate upon Gods Throne:* 1 Chro. 29.23. but if *Solomon* ſhould have lived in theſe our days, inſtead of his *ſix ſteps to his great Throne of Gold, and Ivory*, he ſhould have ſix ſteppers to his Throne, for the Gold and Ivory ſake; inſtead of having a foot-ſtool of Gold under his feet, he ſhould have much ado to keep a Crown of pure Gold upon his head: inſtead of hands *to ſtay his throne*, he ſhould have hands enough to *pull it down, and caſt it to the ground:* and inſtead of *two, and twelve Lyons fixed on each ſide as a guard unto his Throne*, he ſhould have found many Lyons, without regard, running up and down, ſeeking how they might deſtroy him.

Laſtly, Kings are the Lords Anointed, becauſe they are Anointed with his own oyl, *Oleo ſancto meo*, with my holy Oyl have I anointed him, *Pſal.* 89.20. It is not with any common,

common, or vulgar Oyl, or Oyl that any lays claim to but himself: but it is *Oleo meo*, my oyl, neither is it oyl, that was fetch'd out of any common Shop, or Warehouse, but it is *Oleo sancto*, with holy oyl, oyl out of the Sanctuary: And no question but this is a main reason (if they would speak out) why some have such an aking tooth at the Sanctuaries, because they maintain in them, oyl for the anointing of Kings; but if the Alablaster box were broken, the ointment would soon be lost: If they could persuade the King out of the Church into the Barn, they would soon pull a Reed out of the thatch, to put into his hand instead of a Scepter; or if they could get him to hear Sermons under a hedge, there would not be materials wanting to make a Crown of thorns to plat it on his head. Thus you see the reasons why Kings are called the Lords Anointed, because the Lord hath appropriated them unto himself, not in a common and general way, but in a particular and exclusive manner: *my King, my Kingdom, my Crown, my Scepter, my Throne, my Oyl*, where is there left any place for claim? Pride may thrust down Angels out of Heaven, and violence may crucifie the Son of God; *But* (all these things considered) *who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless?* 1 Sam. 26. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

Whether bad Kings be the Lords Anointed, or not.

THey are: for they are of the Lords ſending, and appointment as well as the good. *I will ſet an evil man to rule over them* (ſaith God) *and I gave them a King in mine anger*, Hoſea 13.11. which King was *Saul*, which *Saul* was a Tyrant, which Tyrant was the Lords Anointed when he was at the worſt. You cannot have two better witneſſes then *David*, and the Holy Ghoſt, 1 *Sam.* 26. *Cyrus* was a Heathen *Perſian*, and one that knew not God, yet for all that, *Hæc dicit Dominus, Cyro Chriſto meo, Thus ſaith the Lord to Cyrus mine Anointed*; Eſay 43. 4. *Nero* was no good Emperour, but a Monſter of man-kind, yet Saint *Peter*, in whoſe days he wrote his Epiſtle, commanded all Chriſtians to ſubmit to him, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

Haſael, whom the Lord fore-ſaw, and foreſhewed unto his Prophet *Eliſha*, to be the deſtroyer of his people of *Iſrael*, and one, *that ſhould make them like the duſt by threſhing*, 2 Kings 13. 7. one that will *ſet their ſtrong holds on fire, ſlay their young men with the ſword, daſh their children againſt the wall, and rip up their women with child*; inſomuch that it made the Prophet weep to foreſee all the miſeries that ſhould happen,

2 *King.* 8. 12. insomuch that it made *Hasael* himself (when he was told thereof) cry out, *is thy servant a Dogg, that he should do all these things? vers.* 13. yet for all this, God will have him to be King, and it be put to scourge his people, *the Lord hath shewed me that thou shalt be King over Syria*, vers. 13.

Julian, when from his Christianity, he fell to flat *Paganism*, yet this Anointing held, no Christian ever sought, no Preacher ever taught to touch him, or resist him in the least degree; for whilst the cruel and bloody Emperours were persecuting the poor Christians, they were fitting their necks for the Yoke, and teaching one another postures, how they might stand fairest for the stroke of Death. And this was not *quia deerant vires*, because they could not help it; for the greatest part of *Julians* Army, and the most part of his Empire were Christians: For saith *Tertullian* in his apologetical defence of the Christians of those times, *una nox pauculis faculis, &c. One night with a few firebrands will yield us sufficient revenge, if we durst, by reason of our Christian obligation, and shews how they neither wanted forces, or numbers* and that neither the *Moors, or the Persians or any other Nation whatsoever, were more mighty, or more populous than they:* and how they *filled all places, Towns, Cities, Imperial Palaces, Senates, and Seats of Judgment; and that they could do any thing, in their revenge, if it were any thing lawful*; but this Anointing was the thing that kept the swelling down, and hindred the

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corrupt humours from gathering to a head: And therefore it is not as *Stephanus Junius*, *Franciscus Hottomanus*, *Georgius Buchananus*, *Ficklerus* & *Renecherus*, with the rest of the pillars of the *Puritan Anarchy*, do answer (being gravel'd at the practice of the primitive Christians, and those precepts of the holy Apostl) that the Church then (as it were swathed in the bonds of weakness) had not strength enongh to make powerful resistance; and therefore, so the one taught, and the other obeyed, but if this doctrine were allowable, then would inevitably follow these two gross absurdities.

1. That the pen of the holy Ghost (which taught submission even to the worst of Kings) was not directed according to the equity of the thing, but the necessity of the times.

2. That either the holy Ghost must turn Politician, and become a timeserver, or else the Church must lose the means of its being, and substance. Whereas we know the contrary so well, that when *Acies Ecclesiæ*, was so far from its *bene ordinata*, that when all the Souldiers fled, and the Life-guard routed, the Lord of Hosts (the General himself) taken Prisoner, yet then, like the Sun looking biggest in lowest estate, so the son of righteousness, *think ye not that I can pray unto my Father, and he will send Legions of Angels*; and rather than Gods children shall be oppressed by a company of *Egyptians* (if it be his pleasure to deliver them) he can, without the drawing of one Sword,

turn Rivers into blood, produce an Army of Froggs to deſtroy them: and rather than they ſhould be neceſſitated for lack of means, ſend ſwarms of Flies, that may ſerve them in the ſtead of ſo many reſcuing Angels, and therefore it was not any neceſſity, that the Church was, or could be in, that procured in the Apoſtles, or the firſt Chriſtians, either that doctrine, or that uſe; it was not diſability, but duty; not want of ſtrength, but a reverend regard of the Lords Anointed, that wrought theſe effects in both: Let the people be never ſo many and mighty, and the Princes of the people never ſo wicked and cruel, *mos gerendus eſt*, we muſt obey them; not in the performance of their unjuſt commands; but in ſubmiſſion to their juſt authority; if not by our active, yet by our paſſive obedience: if not for their own ſakes yet *propter Dominum*, for the Lords ſake; if not for wrath, yet for conſcience ſake, *Rom.* 13. 5. If it goeth againſt thy conſcience, ſay, as the people were wont to ſay, when they fell down before the Aſs that carried the Image of the Goddeſs *Iſis*, upon his back, *non tibi ſed Religioni*; if thy conſcience condemns thee, God is greater than thy conſcience, and we muſt look what he commands, as well as what ſhe dictates; the one may be miſlead, the other cannot miſlead; ſacrifice may be either pleaſing, or diſpleaſing to the Lord, but obedience was never faulty; thou maiſt offer the ſacrifice of fools, when thou thinkeſt thou doeſt well: but upon how

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fure grounds goes he, who can say with the prophet in all his actions, *If I have gone a stray, O Lord, thou hast caused me to erre?* never deviating from the expresse of his word. Now God gives us expresse command, that we should not touch his Anointed what condition soever they are of: *Nolite Tangere Christos meos*, touch not mine anointed; and where Gods rules are general, we must not put in exceptions of our own; for the wickedness of a King can no more make void Gods ordinance, of our obedience unto him, then mans unbelief can frustrate Gods decree in us, *Rom.* 3. 3. Let *Saul* be wicked, and let wicked *Saul* be but once Anointed, *David* states the question neither concerning *Saul*, nor his wickedness, but whether he being the Lords anointed (there's the businesse) it is lawful to stretch forth a hand against him (*Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed and be guiltless?* 1 Sam. 26. 9.

CHAP. VI.

Whether upon any pretences whatsoever it be lawful to depose, murder, or so much as to touch the Lords Anointed.

1 *Sam.* 24. 5. THere was the first time that ever it was put to the Vote, whether a King might be put to death or not, but it

was reſolved upon the queſtion in that Parliament; *Ne perdas*, deſtroy him not; it is well that *David* had a negative voice, or elſe it had been but a bad preſident for Kings; it is well that the men with whom *David* had this parley, would hearken unto reaſon, and let that ſway them, otherwiſe *David* might have been forced to fly as faſt away from his own men as he did at firſt from *Saul*: for there wanted no Lay-preachers then, to preach the deſtruction and ſlaughter of Princes, under the pretences of wicked Government and tyranny; who had the trick then, as well as now, to couch their foul meaning in good words and Scripture phraſe, with a *dixit Dominus*, when the Lord ſaid no ſuch thing; as *Davids Zealots*, 1 Sam. 24.5. *This is the day whereof the Lord ſaid unto thee, I will deliver thine Enemy into thine hand, and thou ſhalt do unto him* (what?) *as ſhall ſeem good unto thee*, that is thou ſhalt murder him, that was their meaning: though the word was a good word; and we do not read where the Lord ſaid any ſuch thing at all: So *Abiſhai*, 1 Sam. 26.8. *God hath delivered thine enemy into thine hand*: what then? Therefore let me ſmite him; no ſuch matter; *David* denies the conſequence, as if he ſhould have ſaid, *God hath delivered him into my hand*, but I will make no ſuch bad uſe of his deliverance, I had rather hereby ſhew him his own error, and my innocency, then any way ſtretch forth my hand againſt him, for he is the Lords Anointed, and when ſleep had betrayed *Saul* to *Davids* power

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in the trench, and made the King a ſubject for *Davids* innocence, he eſteemed himſelf but as a Patridg in the Wilderneſs, when he might have caught the Eagle in the Neſt: he pacified *Sauls* Anger, by inabling his power to hurt, *ſent him his ſpear* (it ſeems he did not think it fit to keep the Kings Militia in his hands) and humbly beggs, *Let not my blood fall to the earth*; when, if it had not been for *David*, *Abiſhai* would have ſmiten *Saul* unto the earth at once, ſo that he needed not to have ſmitten him the ſecond time, but *David* would not: deſtroy him not ſaith he, and his reaſon was, *Quis poteſt?* Who can ſtretch forth his hand againſt the Lords Anointed, and be guiltleſs?

Another moſt Notable demonſtration of *Davids* innocency, and ſubjection, unto a hard Maſter, a moſt tyrannical King, cruel *Saul*; we have, 1 *Sam.* 24. When in the Cave of *Engiddi*, *David* might have cut off *Sauls* head; like precious oyntment, he deſcends only to the skirts of his garment, and with a *Quid feci?* checks himſelf, and beſhrews his heart that he had done ſo much, and upon a little looking back of *Saul* (as if he had put on rays of Majeſty) *David* bows, and ſtoops with his face to the earth to him, when he might have laid his honour in the duſt, call'd him *my Father*; when that Father came to ſacrifice him upon the mountains, and (*Iſaac-like*) nothing but *See my Father*, when he could ſee nothing but fire, and ſword, and himſelf alſo the lamb, ready for the ſacrifice. A true *Iſaac* (*though many*

many young men ſtaid behind with the Aſs) will after his father, though he have fire in the one hand and a knife in the other, ready for to ſacrifice his follower; A right *David*, and he that is a man after Gods own heart, though he could bite to death, and knaw into the very bowels of his Soveraign, yet he will aſſume no farther power to hurt, than to the biting of a Flea; *after whom is the King of Iſrael come out? After a Flea? After whom doth* Saul *purſue? After a dead Dog?* When he might have caught the Lion in the toyle. I could eaſily be endleſs in inſtances of the like nature, as our Saviour Chriſts obedience to the death, under the raign of *Tiberius*; his Diſciples under *Nero*, *Claudius* and *Caligula*, whoſe governments were oppoſite to the propagation of the Goſpel, as themſelves were enemies to the propagators of it; yet we ſee they neither attempted the alteration of the one, or the deſtruction of the other; yet Chriſt could do much if he pleaſed, and if the Napkins of Saint *Paul*, and the ſhadow of Saint *Peter* could cure diſeaſes; if a word out of their mouths could ſtrike men and women dead in the place; if an oration at the Bar, could make a King tremble on the Bench, then ſurely you will confeſs that his Diſciples could do ſomething: Yet nothing was done or attempted againſt thoſe wicked, cruel, and pagan Emperours, one inſtance ſhall ſuffice for all: what miſchief or injury could be done more to a people, then *Nebuchadonozer* King of *Babylon* did

did unto the *Jews*, who slew their King, their Noble, their Parents, their Children, and kinsfolks; burn'd their Country, their Cities, their *Jerusalem*, their Temple, and carried the residue (who were left alive) Captives with him to *Babylon*. And now behold (then) *Nebuchadonozers* good subjects: will you hear what advice the Prophet *Daniel* gives them for all this? *Baruch* 1. 11. *Pray you for the life of Nebuchadonozer King of Babylon, and for the life of Balthazer his Son, that their days may be upon earth, as the days of Heaven, and the Lord will give us strength*; (what to do? to wage War against him?) *and lighten our eyes* (what, with new Revelations how they may be reveng'd? O no) *that we may live under the shadow of Nebuchadonozer King of Babylon, and under the shadow of Balthazer his Son, and that we may serve them many days and find favour in their sight*, truly shewing that a King is *Alkum*, Prov. 30. 31. *one, against whom there is no rising up*; that is, not upon any pretences whatsoever: there can be no pretences whatsoever more fair and specious; then those of defending the Church, and redressing the Common-wealth. For the first; if Religion be any thing pushed at, think you that Rebellion will keep it up, or that it ever stood in need of such hands? when God refused to have his Temple built by *David*, because he was a fighter of the Lords Battels; think you that he will have his Church defended by fighters against the Lords Anointed? to defend Religion by Rebellion, were to defend

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it by means condemned, by the ſame Religion we would defend; and to reform or redreſs the Common-wealth, by Inſurrection and Rebellion, were to rectifie an errour with the greateſt of all miſchiefs; no government worſe than a Civil War, and the worſt Governour is always better than the beſt Rebellion: *Rebellion is as the ſin of witchcraft, and ſtubborneſs is as Idolatry:* and how perilous a thing it is, for the Feet to judge the Head, the ſubjects to choſe what government and Governours they will have; to condemn what, and whom they pleaſe, to make what pretences and ſurmiſes they have a mind to, this Kingdom by woful experience hath had ſad reſentments. Imbecillities and weakneſſes in Princes, are on arguments for the chaſtiſements, depoſing, or murdering of Kings; for then giddy heads will never want matter or pretences to cloak their Rebellion: Shall *Moſes*, becauſe *Pharaoh* was an oppreſſour of Gods people, and had hardned his heart, and would not let the *Iſraelites* depart, therefore inflict puniſhments upon *Pharaoh*, or ſo much as depart without his leave? Though *Moſes* could inflict puniſhments upon the whole Land, yet his Commiſſion never went ſo far, as to touch *Pharaoh*, in the leaſt degree; though ſwarms of Flies came into the houſe of *Pharaoh*, and Frogs entred into the Kings chamber; yet we read not that they ſeized on *Pharaohs* perſon; there were Lice in all their Quarters ſaith the Pſalmiſt, and there became Lice in man and beaſt, upon the ſmiting

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ing on the duſt, but none were ſmitten of the perſon of the King: Boyls and blains were upon all the *Egyptians* and upon the Magicians, ſo ſore, as they could not ſtand in the preſence of *Pharaoh*, but they were not on *Pharaoh*, that he could not ſtand himſelf; *Pharaoh* his eldeſt ſon may die, but *Vivat Rex*, *Pharaoh* muſt not be touch'd. Did *Abſalom* do well to conſpire againſt his Father, though he defiled *Uriahs* bed, and cloaked adultery with murther? ſhould the Prieſt, Peers, Prophets, or People, offer to depoſe *Solomon*, becauſe he had brought ſtrange Wives into the Land, and as ſtrange Religion into the Church? ſhall *Elias* entice *Ahabs* ſubjects to Rebellion, becauſe he ſuffered *Jezabel* to put *Naboth* to death, and killed the Lords Prophets? ſhall *Peter* take vengeance upon *Herod* becauſe he put him in priſon, beheaded *John* the Baptiſt, and killed *James*? ſhall *Reuben* be no Patriarch, becauſe he was unſtable as water? ſhall *Simeon* and *Levi* loſe their Patriarchal dignity, becauſe they were brethren in iniquity, and inſtruments of cruelty, becauſe in their anger they ſlew a man, and in their ſelf-will digged down a wall? ſhall *Judah* be depoſed from his rule and government for making a bargain with an Harlot upon the high way? ſhall *Iſſachar* not be numbred amongſt the other twelve, becauſe he was none of the wiſeſt? no reaſon; they were Patriarchs as well as the reſt, which was the immediate government before Kings; and (indeed) were princes themſelves: *Princeps*

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Dei es inter nos, Gen. 28. 6. *Thou art a mighty Prince amongst us:* and thus much shall suffice (and I hope sufficient) to shew, that no faults or pretences whatsoever, can make it lawful to depose, or so much as to touch the Lords Annointed.

CHAP. VII.

What is meant by touching the Lords Annointed, or stretching forth the hand against the Lords Anointed.

NOt dare to touch the Lords Annointed, is an awfull reverence, and a supposed difference to be kept, between every subject and his Soveraign; especially in point of violence. A Mother doubting the discretion of her *Children*, and being to leave some curious looking-glass in a place, doth not comand her Children they should not break it, but that they should not touch it; knowing full well, that if they have the liberty to meddle with it in the least degree, they make break it before they are aware, and destroy it when they think least of any such matter. So God is very chary of his King, wherein he beholds the representation of himself, and knowing him to be but brittle, and though the most refined Earth, yet but glass: he commands his people that they should

should not touch his Anointed; knowing that if they were permitted but to tamper with him in the least degree, their rude hands may break it in pieces, when they do but think to set it right.

A touch is but of one man, though but with one of his fingers, yet this must not be; *Nolite tangere*, it is not said *ne tangere*, wherein only the act of touching is forbidden, but *Nolite tangere*, whereby the will is also prohibited: how wary should we be in touching, when the Lord is so cautious in his prohibition?

Now stretching forth the hand may signifie a combination of many into one confederacy, the hand being a part of the body, composed of five members (one and all) but this must not be: a most unhappy instrument is that hand that *turns it self* into the bowels of its own body; if the head break out by chance, the hands must not presently be in the head clawing, with invenomed nails, the corruption there, lest that itching desire, turn into smart in the end, lest when the peaceable day springing from on high, shall happily visit you, *that now sit in darkneſſe and in the ſhadow of death*, we then see our bloody hands, and this (once happy) kingdom, the only pillow, whereon peace had laid her head, streamed (like the *Egyptian* River) all with blood. In a word, by touching the Lords Anointed, or by stretching forth the hands against him, is meant any kind of violence that is used against sacred Majesty, and the signifi-

cation thereof is of a large extent; for we ſtretch forth our hands when we do but lift up our heels in ſcorn againſt him; *Who ſo lifteth up his heel*, Pſalm. 41. 9.

Secondly, We ſtretch forth our hands againſt the Lords Anointed, when we do but raiſe up Arms in our own defence; *Whoſoever reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God, and draweth Damnation upon himſelf.* Rom. 3.

Thirdly, We ſtretch forth our hands againſt the Lords Anointed, when we ſtretch not our Tongue and Voice, when we hear of any Traiterous plots or conſpiracies againſt the Lords Anointed, and ſo bring ſuch conſpiracies to light: *It is a foul thing to hear the voice of conſpiracy, and not to utter it*: Lev. 5. 1. as good lay thy *hand* upon the Lords Anointed, as lay thy *hand* upon thy Mouth and conceal the Treaſon.

Fourthly, We ſtretch forth our hands againſt the Lords Anointed, when we do not ſtretch forth our hands for the Lords Anointed, when we ſee him aſſaulted with any danger, or Traiterous oppoſings. Should a man ſee his Father fiercely aſſaulted, and ſhould not preſently run to his reſcue, but ſhould ſuffer him to be ſlain before his face, would we not equally exclaim againſt him with the murtherers, *Qui non Vetat peccare Quum poteſt, jubet*; he bids, that doth not forbid with all his power (like a true ſon) ſuch

such outrages and violences, to be committed against the Father of his Country.

Fifthly, We touch the Lords Anointed, when we touch his Crown and Dignity; intrench upon his *Regalia*; hold or withhold his sons or daughters, kill or take prisoners his men of War. We must take heed of defacing the garment, as well as of hurting the person, for they are both *Sacred*; the precious *Oyntment, wet not Aarons head alone, but it ran down upon his Beard, and down unto the skirts of his garment*, making all *Sacred* that was about him; such touchings therefore are worse, than when we touch the person with the greatest violence; for then the Anointed are most touched, when they are touched where the Anointed is, which is their State and Crown, dearer to them than their lives; touch both, the murder of the person, is but a consequence to the deposement of the dignity.

Sixthly, we touch the Lords Anointed, when we take away his revenue and livelyhood from him, the Devil thought that he had stretched forth his hand exceedingly against *Job*, touch'd (and touch'd him to the quick) when he had procured Gods permission, that the *Sabeans* and *Caldeans* should take away his Oxen and Asses, his Sheep and Camels, and plundered him of all he had; God called this *a destruction unto Job*, Job 2. 3. and that before ever a hand was

ſtretched forth to touch either his bone, or his fleſh.

Seventhly. Is there no ſtroke but what the hand gives? Yes, the tongue can ſtrike as well as the beſt: *Jer.* tells us ſo, *Venite percutiamus cum lingua:* come let us ſmite him with the tongue, Jer. 18, 18. and *David* ſaid, *His tongue was a two edged ſword: There is,* (ſaith *Solomon*) *that ſpeaketh* (and that waiteth too) *like the piercing of a ſword:* It is bad enough in any, or againſt any man, but worſt of all againſt the Lords Anointed; for it is ſaid *Thou ſhalt not revile the Gods, nor ſpeak evil of the Ruler of the People:* Saint *Paul*, but for calling of a High Prieſt, *painted wall*, (though) when he cauſed him to be *ſmitten Contrary to the Law*, yet he eat his words and confeſſed his error; and now many, that would ſeem to be followers of *Paul*, are revilers of Kings and make no bones thereof. The ſame God that commanded *Laban*, in reſpect of his ſervant, *Vide ne quid loquare durius*, ſee thou give no ill language, certainly expects that Subjects ſhould ſet a watch before their mouths, to keep the door of their lips, *leſt they offend with their tongue*, in ſpeaking ill of Princes.

Eighthly, As the tongue can ſtrike without a hand, ſo the heart can curſe without a tongue: *Eccl.* 10. 2. *Curſe not the King, no not in thy heart, for a Bird in the air ſhall carry the voice, and that which hath wings ſhall tell the matter.* The hand implies both; never

never was the *hand* ſtretched forth to any evil act, but the heart was the *privy* Counſellor, and the tongue the chief perſwader unto ſuch enormities; therefore it is good, *obſtare principiis*, to cruſh the cockatrice egg, kill it in the heart, leſt thoſe *pravæ cogitationes* want room, and then *out of the abundance of the heart the mouth ſpeaketh*, and perſwades the hand to be the deſtruction of the whole body: If hand, and heart, and tongue, and *pen* where thus regulated, we need not long look for peace, or deſpair of an accommodation, but whilſt the hand is up, and the heart is ſet at liberty, and the tongue ſaith, *Our tongues are our own, we, ought to ſpeak, who is Lord over us*? and every pen is a *ready writer in matters pertaining to the King*: in vain it is to ſeem Chriſtians, whilſt we are ſuch Antichriſts: the Bible under our arm, falls to the ground, whilſt we ſtretch forth our hand againſt the Lords Anointed: why do we take Gods word into our mouthes if we let it not down into our hearts, to do as that directs us? Chriſtian liberty never cut the ſtring, that tied the tongue to thoſe obſervances. Of theſe things there might be applications made, but lapping as they go along is beſt for doggs, where there are Crocodiles in the River.

It ſeems by the ſtory, that Kings may be courſely dealt withal if men make no bones of being guilty; they ſtand like the forbidden Tree, in the midſt of the Paradiſe of God, men

may touch them, but they had better let them alone; if God had placed (at the first) Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way to defend the tree, how could there have been a trial of *Adams* obedience? So if God by some instinct, had chained the hearts of men, and tied their hands, and bound them to the peace, so that they could neither in thought, word, nor deed, have committed violence against his Vicegerent, how could there have been a trial of the Subjects duty? the Tree had no guard, nor fence about it, but only, *thou shalt not eat thereof, if thou doest, thou shalt surely die the death,* Princes have no better security for themselves, than the Almighties command for their preservation, *Nolite Tangere*, &c. Touch not mine Anointed; to break the First, was but death, the second is damnation; if thou resist the higher powers, you resist the highest God, and he that resisteth shall be damned, *Romans* 13. 2. The commandment concerning the Tree of Paradise, was only *thou shalt not eat thereof*; but we are forbidden to touch so much as a leaf of our forbidden tree, much less to shake down all his fruit; *there is hopes of a tree,* saith Job, *that if it be cut down, yet it will sprout again,* but not only a finger, a hand, but an axe must be laid to the root of the tall Cedar of our *Libanus*; yea, they must be rooted up like the names of *Taronius*; they will not leave so much as a stump of *Nebuchadnezzers* tree chain'd to the earth; up must all root and branch, till all the royal branches lie like

sprey

ſprey upon the ground: theſe men had rather be deſtroyed themſelves, than ſay the Lords Anointed is not to be deſtroyed. Go ye blind Zelots, hearken to your Wives, and let them perſwade you to diſobedience, and the Devil them, as *Eve* did *Adam*, and the Devil her: behold the objects ſhe preſents unto your view; how good they ſeem, how fair they look, how pleaſant they are to thine eye, how wiſe you think you ſhall be, how full of knowledg, when poor wretches, you ſhall find all theſe promiſes turned into Fig-leaves, to hide your nakedneſs: all theſe golden Apples of *Paleſtine* once toucht, evaporated into ſtench and blindneſs, and that your diſobedience hath given you nothing but curſes, and brought you nothing but ſorrows and Death upon your ſelves and children, and profited you nothing but the turning of an *Edom* into a Wilderneſs, till you be glad to eat the herbs of the field, and by the ſame fault, fall into the ſame puniſhment with our neighbours of *Germany*, dye with graſs in your mouths. Theſe things fell upon *Adam* for his diſobedience unto God, and the like will fall upon us (the ſons of *Adam*) for our diſobedience unto Gods Anointed. O then let us not by any means lift up our hands againſt the Lords Anointed, leſt (like *Adam*) we fall from our ſtate of innocence, and be guilty: guilty of all the blood that hath, and ſhall be ſpilt upon this Land, guilty of the tears of ſo many fatherleſs children and widowes: and if we will not be obedient unto a Prince of men,

guilty

guilty of all the eternal thraldom and ſubmiſſion unto a Prince of Devils: take then the advice of the wiſe *Solomon*, Prov. 30. 32. *If thou haſt done fooliſhly in lifting up thy ſelf, or if thou haſt thought evil, lay thy hand upon thy mouth: Fear God, honour the King, have nothing to do with them that are ſubject unto change, for their deſtruction commeth ſuddainly*; and ſo will yours. Let no man deceive himſelf, he who is not good in his particular calling, can never be good in his general calling. He is no good man, that is no good ſervant, and if he be no good ſubject, he is no good Chriſtian, he that honoureth not the King, doth never fear God; and except he obeys both, he obeys neither.

CHAP. VIII.

Whether Kings now adays are to be had in the ſame veneration and eſteem, as Kings were under the Law, by reaſon of our Chriſtian liberty.

CErtainly the murmuring of *Corah*, *Dathan* and *Abiram*, with their complices; *Thou ſeekeſt to make thy ſelf altogether a Prince over us, the Lord is among us, we are all alike holy unto the Lord*, (and therefore *Moſes* and *Aaron* muſt be no more excellent than the reſt of the people) was no propheſie to be fulfilled in theſe

our

our days; for if it had, surely our Saviour would never have paid tribute for *himself* and *Peter*, *Mat.* 17. 27. which was a symbole of their subjection to heathen pagans; *for this cause pay ye tribute*, Rom. 13. 6. we have those who are apt enough to make arguments with our Saviour, bearing this conclusion, *then are the Children free*, Mat. 17. 26. but few that will imitate his peaceable example, *to fish for money*, rather than offend the higher powers, *Mat.* 17. 27. And if you conjecture that our Saviour did this meerly for quietness sake, behold the question rightly stated: *Is it lawful to give tribute to Cæsar or not?* Mat. 22. 17. seriously propounded (*Master we know that thou art true* (and therefore we hope thou wilt not deceive us with a lye) *and teachest the way of God in truth* (and therefore thou wilt not cause us to err through the deceiveableness of unrighteousness) *neither carest thou for any man* (and therefore thou wilt not be afraid to speak the truth) *thou regardest not the persons of men)* therefore fearing only God, thou wilt boldly, and faithfully without partiality, or fear, plainly tell us, whether it be lawful or not) clearly determined and concluded upon; *Da Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris*, Mat. 22. 21.

If Christian liberty, should loose the reigns of Civil Government, then Christ would never have acknowledged *Pilates* power to have been of *God*, John 19. 11. If subjection unto Kings were a hinderance to the propagation of the Gospel, then Saint *Peter* would never have

have exhorted the Christians to *submit themselves to every ordinance of man.* 1 Pet. 2. 9. We have too many submitters now-adays unto every Ordinance of men, but they are not unto such Ordinances, whereof the King is Supreme, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13.

Object. It is better to obey God than man, and therefore for his sake we cannot obey every ordinance of man.

Sol. The Apostle doth not in this place discourse of obedience, but of submission: obedience is to be given to things, only lawful; submission is to be given to any ordinance whatsoever, though not for the things sake, which is commanded, yet *propter Dominum*, for the Lords sake who doth command, so absolute submission: where God commands one thing, and the King commands another thing, we may refuse his will, and there is perfect obedience; when God commands one thing, and the King commands the contrary, we may not resist his authority, and therein is true submission; and this the Apostle doth not only assure us to be the *will of God*, but puts this *well doing* in the stead of knowledg and wisdom, whereby *the ignorance of foolish men may be put to silence*, 1 Pet. 2. 15. when freedom stands on tiptoes, her coat is too short to cover her maliciousness, therefore the Apostle exhorts us to behave our selves *As free, but not using our liberty, as a cloak for maliciousness*, 1 Pet. 2. 16.

If

If Christian liberty did break the School of civil Government, then Saint *Paul* would never have been such a School-master to the *Romans*, Rom. 13. *Let every Soul be subject to the higher powers:* an excellent rule for our obedience, *every soul*, no exemption by greatness, or holiness, or any by-respect whatsoever, but if he have a *soul*, *let him be subject to the higher powers:* if two powers clash one against another, here we know which to stick to in our obedience, that is, which is *highest* (and that Saint *Peter* plainly tells us is the King, *whether to the King as Supreme*, 1 Pet. 2. 13.) *There is no power but of God, the powers that be, are of God, whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation*, v. 2. What Christian then can have his conscience so misled, as to resist those powers out of conscience, when the Apostle plainly tells us, *v.* 1. *We must needs be subject, not only for wrath* (that is, for fear of them) *but also for conscience sake*, because God commanded it.

There were Anti-monarchists, and Anti-dignitarians even in the Apostles time, but if it had been laudable, or agreeable to Christian liberty, then Saint *Jude* in his Epistle *v.* 8. would never have called *the despisers of Dominion and evil speakers of Dignities, filthy dreamers and defilers of the flesh* (as he put them, so we find them both together) he never would have compared them to bruit beasts, *v.* 10. he never would have pronounced *woes* unto them,

them, as unto the goers *into the ways of Cain: greedy runners after the error of* Balaam, *for reward*; *and perishers* (*as in the gain-saying of Corah*) v. 11. he would never have compared them to clouds *without water: carried about with wind: to fruitless wretched Trees, twice dead, plucked up by the roots: to raging waves of the Sea, foaming out their own shame: wandring stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness for ever*, ver. 12. 13. he never would have described them unto *you so fully, to be Murmurers, Complainers, walkers after their own lusts, wide mouth'd, speakers of great swelling words, having of mens persons in admiration, by reason of advantage, separatists, sensual*, (and though they pretend never so much unto it) *having not the spirit*, v. 16. 19.

Christian liberty frees from the ceremony of the Law, not from the substance of the Gospel: whereof we see submission and subjection unto Kings, is a great part thereof. The *Roman* yoke, and the *Romans* hands which held the plough ploughing upon the Christians backs, and made long furrowes, and for a long time, were both adverse to the propagation of Christs Gospel; yet during all that time, neither Christ, nor any of his Disciples, ever attempted either the change of the one, or the displaying of the other; and shall we think our selves more wise than he, who is *the wisdom of the Father?* Or better advised than by him, who is the *everlasting councellour?* Or that any mans doctrine can

settle

settle us in more peace and quietness than he, who is *princeps pacis*, the Prince of peace? will you have more Orthodox Fathers than the Apostles? or the Children of this generation to be wiser than the Fathers of old? Christ and his Apostles with all the antient Fathers taught, and subscribed to this doctrine. First, Christ, *Da Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris*: then Saint *Paul*, *Render to all their due, tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour*, and all to *Cæsar*: Then St. *Peter*, *submit your selves*, &c. *Fear God, honour the King*, &c. *Sic passim in Scripturis.*

Dear Christians, are we better pleased with the glittering tinsel of a painted Baby from a Pedlers shop, than with the rich, and inestimable Jewels of Divine truth? will we suffer our selves to be cozened with the gilded slips of error? and what *Enthusiasmes* every pretended spirit, if not every Cobler, Weaver, Groom, or Coach-man, shall dictate, who are but *velut igneæ*, and *velut flatus*, as it were of fire, or as it were a mighty and rushing wind, but nothing sensible, some hot exhalations of the brain set on fire, by the continual motion, and agitation of the tongue. Good God, have we thus learnt Christ? Is this the fruit of so clear a Gospel? and the return of all our holy mothers care, and pains for Education? shall we take Gods word into our mouths and preach Sedition, Rebellion and Insurrection, contrary to that word which we pretend to

preach? to maintain Religion by Insurrection, is to maintain it by means, condemned by the same Religion we would maintain.

CHAP. IX.

Whether a King failing in his duty and not performing those things, which he hath sworn unto at his Coronation (so solemnly) the People are not disobliged in their obedience unto him, and may, thereupon, depose or put him to death.

IF Kings held their Crowns by Indentures from the People, then were the People disobliged to their obedience unto him, upon his failing (in those things whereto he hath been sworn) on his part; but if they receive their Crowns immediatly from God, and that by him alone *Kings Reign* (as hath been heretofore proved at large) then all the failings that can be in a King, can but make him a bad King; but still he must remain a King; the Oath assures us of his being a King, not of his being a good King; for he was King before he took it: Coronation is but a ceremony, and his Oath is but at his Coronation; the issue of ceremony, must not dis-inherit the right heir, of all that substance: King and Kingdom, are like man and wife, whose marriages are made in

in Heaven, who are betrothed by God himself; Now as in the ceremony between man and woman, the husband in the presence of God and Angels, and all the Congregation promiseth (which is as solemnly binding as any Oath) that he will live together with her after Gods holy Ordinance in the state of matrimony, that he will love and cherish her, maintain and keep her, and forsaking all other, keep himself only unto her: Now if he perform all these things, he doth well, he is both a good husband, and a good Christian (considering the vow that he hath made) but if he doth not live with her according to Gods holy Ordinance, nor love, nor cherish her as he should, nor maintain and keep her as he ought; *Shall it be lawful for a man to put away his wife for every cause?* Mat. 19. 3. much less can it be lawful for the wife to put away her husband upon every distaste; It was God that made them male and female: *Mat.* 19. 4. and therefore it is fit they should continue together so; *They twain are but one flesh*; Mat. 19. 5. therefore they cannot be divided; *God joyned them both together:* Mat. 19. 6. therefore no man can put them asunder. Now to apply this to the King wedding himself to his People at his Coronation; the King (solemnly) takes his Oath at his Coronation before all the People, that he will live together with them according to the Laws of the Land, that he will protect and defend them to the uttermost of his power, with all other protestations contained in the

said Oath; which if he doth perform, he doth well, and is both a good man, and a good King; but if he should not govern them accordingly to the Laws of the Land, and if he should not cherish and defend his People, shall it be lawful for his wife to make away this husband? God forbid! God made him King, them Subjects, therefore they must continue so, like man and wife, for better for worse, they two are both one, the head may not be divided from the body, and *quæ Deus conjunxit, nemo separet*; there have been Bills of divorcement given unto these King-husbands in former times: but of those Bills, I may say, as our *blessed Saviour* said of the Bills of divorcement which *Moses* commanded; it was *propter duritiem cordis*, Mat. 19. 7. *Deut.* 24. 1. *for the hardness of mens hearts*; and then again, this *durities cordis*, never went so far as that the woman might put away her husband, but only the husband his wife. and that only in the case of Adultery; and if it had been otherwise, it had but a late beginning, a bad foundation: for our Saviour saith, *Mat.* 19. 8. *In principio autem non erat sic, It was not so from the beginning*; and a hard heart is but a bad foundation for a good Christian to build upon. I will conclude this application with words not of my own, but of Saint *Paul*, which words are a commandement, *Neither is it I* (saith the Apostle) 1 *Cor.* 7. 10. *but the Lord*, that gives you this commandement, *Let not the wife depart from her husband*; no, if she be an heretique,

or

or which is worſe, a heathen; *If the woman hath a husband which believeth not, if he be pleaſed to dwell with her let her not leave him:* 1 Cor. 7. 13. If I would reſiſt my Soveraign in any kind, it ſhould be for my Religion, but when my Religion tells me that I muſt not reſiſt him in any caſe; then I think I ſhould but do (in doing ſo) like the boaſting Jew, *Rom.* 2. 13. who boaſted of the Law, *and diſhonoured God through breaking of that Law*, which he had *boaſted of: What if ſome did not believe, ſhall their unbelief make the faith of God of none effect?* ſaith *Paul*, Rom. 3. 3. *God forbid:* no more can the wickedneſs of a King, make void Gods Ordinance of our obedience unto him: our obedience muſt look upon Gods command, not upon the Kings good behaviour; God doth not command things becauſe they are fitting, but it is fit that we ſhould obey, becauſe he commands them; neither ought we to have reſpect ſo much unto the goodneſs, as unto the Authority of a King; for Kings do not conſiſt in this, that they are good, but in this, that they are Kings; for as it is poſſible for one to be a good man, and a bad King, ſo it is often ſeen, that a bad man may be a good King; and it is an obſervation here at home, that the beſt Laws have been made by the worſt of Kings. It is an obſervation, that divers Kingdoms have long continued in peace and happineſs under bad Laws, and worſe Governours. Well obſerved; when unwarrantable attempts to better both, and inconſiderable courſes to

mend all, hath brought all to ruin and confuſion. He that ſets a Kingdom in combuſtion, to advance his own opinion, and prefer his private judgment, doth but ſet his houſe on fire to roaſt his Eggs.

God makes Kings of ſeveral conditions, ſometimes he gives a King, whoſe wiſdom and reach in Government is like *Sauls*, *head and ſhoulders higher then all the People:* And then when we have wiſe Kings, and learned Judges, *Pſal.* 2. 10. we ſhall be ſure to have all thoſe *Breakers of their bonds aſunder*, and thoſe *caſters away of their cords from them*; v. 5. to be bruiſed with *a Rod of Iron, and broken in pieces like a Potters veſſel*; v. 9.

Sometimes God will ſend us a little child, ſometimes a child in years, otherwhile a child in underſtanding, which of both it be, *Væ regno* (ſaith *Solomon*) *cui puer dominabitur*; *wo to the Kingdom, over which a child Reigns*, for then the whole Kingdom is ſure to be put upon the rack. Sometimes God in his judgment ſends a Tyrant amongſt us, *I will ſet an evil man to rule over them*, ſaith God himſelf, and then we are never in hope to be from under the laſh; and ſometimes in mercy he ſends meek and mild Princes (like *Moſes*) who carried his People *in his boſom*, one that ſhall only make uſe of his Prerogatives, as Chriſt did of his miracles in caſes of neceſſity; one who ſhall ſay with the Apoſtle Saint *Paul*, *I have no power to do him, but to do good, to edification* but not to deſtruction: one who ſhall continue his Reign,

Reign, as *Saul* began, *Videre ne quid ſit populo, quod fleat*, who will hear and ask *why do the People cry?* deſerve well and have well; ſhall we receive good from the hands of the Lord, and ſhall we not receive evil Princes? though they be *amaræ ſagittæ*, yet when we conſider that they are *e dulci manu domini emiſſæ*, we ſhould not refuſe them, but be contented with whomſoever his mercy or his juſtice ſends, or throws upon us: Never was there a bad Prince over any People, but he was ſent by our heavenly Father for a ſcourge to his children; and ſhall we kiſs, or ſnatch the Rod out of our Fathers hand? To conclude, there is nothing can diſoblidge the people from their King, becauſe his Authority over them is *a domino*, from the Lord, but their obedience towards him is *propter dominum*, for the Lords ſake; though in himſelf there be all the reaſons that can be given to the contrary, many will be glad to hear the Father of their *Country*, ſay, *I and the Lord will go*, and to be ſole elect, and to hear his Father tell him, *deus providebit*, as *Abraham ſaid to his Son Iſaac*; but if he takes fire and ſword in hand threatning his ſollower, how many followers will he have? I had rather, with *Iſaac*, follow my Father I know not wherefore; and with *Abraham*, obey my God, contrary to my own nature, and beyond all hope, then to ſerve ſo great a God and his Vicegerent by rules drawn by my own fancy and reaſon.

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Psal. 105. 15.

Touch not mine Anointed, *meant by* KINGS.

BY the words, *Touch not mine Anointed*, is meant Kings and Princes: neither can any other interpretation, whatsoever, be obtruded upon this Text, without a great deal of impudence and ignorance; If there were no other argument to be used but this, to a modest man, it were sufficient. *viz.* That not any Church, nor any Church-men, nor any Christian, nor any Father, nor any Expositor whatsoever, did ever give it any other interpretation, before such time as the *Jesuit* and the *Puritan*, and they both at a time, and that time bearing not above an hundred yeers date neither, began to teach the world that it was lawful to murther Kings; and no marvel if this found some querk or other to turn the stream of Scripture sence, out of its proper channel, and constant course; the two Birds of a Feather, persecutors of one another, like two fighting Cocks who quarrel amongst themselves, being both of the same kind, and yet both agree in taking counsel together against the Lord, and against his Anointed: or like *Pilate* and *Herod*, they could not agree but

but in the principles of condemning the Lords Christ.

But it is objected, that as a little child upon a Gyants shoulders, may see farther then the Gyant himself; so a weaker understanding comming after those Fathers, and taking advantage of such helps, getting up upon the shoulders of time and learning, may see more then they did, or hath been seen in former ages; and therefore it is no wonder, if a man without aspersing himself with the least immodesty, may pretend to see more, then all those who went before him had observed, and what hath this child pick-a-pocket spied? a Birds-neast can there be a simpler thing imagined, whereby to give impudence the chair, and throw all the Ancient Fathers flat upon their backs, then this so common, and so much approv'd of instance to usher innovation, not only into the Church, but also into the very soul of Scripture it self? for what if it be granted, that a child upon a Gyants shoulders sees further then doth the Gyant himself, doth the child know better what he sees then doth the said Gyant? must not the child ask the Gyant what is what, of all that he beholds? must not the child be informed by the knowing Gyant, of the difference between the mountains and the valleys, the water and the skie, a cock and a bull? if the child be thus ignorant, what doth the childs getting up upon the Gyants shoulders advantage the child in points of controversie? except it be such a child as Saint *Christopher* had got

got upon his ſhoulders, that was Judg of all the World: if the child be not ſo ſimple, but underſtands all theſe things; then believe me he is no child in underſtanding; but a Gyant himſelf in knowledge, and ſo the ſimilitude, the child, and the Gyant come tumbling all down together; ſeat a child never ſo high, he is but a child ſtill, and ſits but at the feet of a *Gamaliel*, when he is upon the ſhoulders of a Gyant; no child was ever thought worthy to poſe all the Doctors, *but the Child Jeſus.*

Now to clear the Text from thoſe blots and blurs that are thrown upon the words, going before this Text of Scripture, *Touch not mine Anointed*, viz. *I have reproved Kings for their ſakes*, Ergo, the word Anointed could not betoken Kings, becauſe Kings were reproved, for their ſakes who were the Lords Anointed: now ſay they, the word Anointed muſt neceſſarily ſignifie the people of God, for whoſe ſake theſe Kings were reproved, and ſo it doth; but yet my *Corahmites*, *Dathamites*, and *Abiramites*, you muſt not think *to be all alike holy unto the Lord*, as that ye are all concern'd in this *nolite tangere:* There is no queſtion but that in ſome ſence the elect of God are anointed ones of the Lord, but not peculiarly the Lords Anointed: they are *filii olii*, ſons of oyl, as the Prophet terms them, but not *Chriſti mei*, or *Chriſti tui*, or *Chriſti ejus*, or *Chriſti Domini*, which were attributes that were never given by the holy Ghoſt to any but to Chriſt, and Kings: the Prieſts who were anointed (really) never

never were term'd in Scripture the Lords Anointed, and the proudeſt, and moſt rebellious people that ever were, whoſe arrogance claim'd an equality with, never *(in ſacris)* ſtrove to be above their Prieſts. Now if you expect clearneſs in the fountain, do not ye trouble the waters, and you ſhall behold the ſprings of truth ariſe; 'twas the elect and choſen of the Lord that were here meant by anointed, and it was the ſeed of *Abraham*, and it was not Kings that were meant by this word anointed in the Text. But it was not all the elect of God, that muſt not be touch'd, it was not all the ſeed of *Abraham* who have this *noli me tangere* about them, but it was *Abraham*, *Iſaac*, and *Jacob*, for whoſe *ſake God reproved Kings*, as they are plainly nominated in the ſame *Pſalm*, and none elſe; if there be mention made of the ſeed of *Abraham*, *Iſaac* and *Jacob* were the ſeed of *Abraham*; who were elſe mentioned? and though we cannot comprehend theſe three under the notion of nominal Kings, yet we may be pleaſed to conſider them as real Princes, *Principi Dei es enter nos*, as it was ſaid to *Abraham*, thou art a mighty Prince among'ſt us, ſo Kings may be reproved for their ſakes; they may be Kings too, and yet the Lords Anointed, for whoſe ſake Kings were reproved: for we do not diſpute about the name, but the thing. Now whereſoever you find this word *nolite tangere*, you ſhall find this word, ſaying, going before it, which of neceſſity muſt have ſome reference to ſome other place of Scripture to which

which it must allude, and in reference to which it must be spoken: for the word, *saying*, makes it rather a question of some Author, then the *Psalmist's* own, this allusion you may easily perceive, *Gen.* 26. 11. where it is set down, how that *God touched the heart of Abimelech King of the Philistims, in the behalf of Isaac*, one of the three named in the *Psalm*; so that King *Abimelech* charged all his people, saying, *He that toucheth this man, shall surely die:* So *Abimelech* and King *Herod* were both reproved for *Abrahams* sake: *Gen.* 12. 10. And to what place of Scripture can this *nolite tangere* be more aptly applyed, then to this, where we find the same words reiterated? Or what clearer testimony can be given of the Scriptures alluding to this saying, *Touch not mine Anointed*, then to *Gen.* 16. 29. where *totidem verbis*, it is said to *Abimelech* in the behalf of *Isaac*, *We have not touched thee thou blessed of the Lord*; what difference between these words, *And touch not mine Anointed.*

Besides the Marginal notes of all our Bibles directs us to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, as to the Anointed of the Lord, and as the Princes of Gods people, which must not be touch'd, and for whose sakes Kings were so much reproved; the word, *King*, in the Text, *doth not exclude those who were Princes, but it only includes those Princes who were called Kings, and were reproved for their sakes who were Kings themselves* re, *though not* nomine: *so that all the ground that will be gained hereby, will be, that*

one

one Prince was reproved for another, though not called Kings.

To conclude, as no Christians ever interpreted this place of Scripture but of Kings and Princes, until *Jesuits* and *Puritans*, undertook that it is lawful to murther Kings: So no *English* Author ever interpreted it otherwise, till within this seven or eight years; when *Presbyters* and *Independents* began to put this doctrin in execution: and if the former of these two would wash their hands in innocency, as relating to this last unparallel'd act of Regicide, let them remember *CHARLES* the *Proto*-Martyr of Gods Church, and People, His own words, in his Book of *Meditations*, wherein He tells them, 'How vain is the shift 'of their pleading exemption from that aspersion, to grant Commission for shooting of bul'lets of Iron and Lead in his face, and preserving 'him in a *Parenthesis* of words.

CHAP. XI.

Objection.

Rehoboam hearkened unto young men which gave him evil counsel, and would not hearken unto his sages which gave him good advice, but answered the people roughly; wherefore they renounced the right they had in *David*, and the inheritance they

had in the ſon of *Jeſſe*, fled to their Tents, and Crowned *Jeroboam* King: *Ergo*, we may do the like upon the like occaſion, having a preſident from the word of God, and warrantable, becauſe God ſaid, *This thing was from the Lord*, 1 King. 13.8.

Anſwer.

All this proves only that ſuch a thing was done, not that it was well done; for if it be a ſufficient proof to prove out of Scripture, that ſuch a thing was done, and thereupon conclude that therefore we may do the like, then this is as good an argument as the beſt, *Judas* betrayed Chriſt, therefore it is lawful for a ſervant to betray his Lord and Maſter; firſt, the Scripture blames him in a moſt pathetical climax, 1 *Kings* 11.26. *Jeroboam the ſon of Nebat, the ſervant of* Solomon, *whoſe mothers name was Zeruah, even* he *lifted up his hand againſt the King*, ſhewing how he had deſperately run through all thoſe obligations, and tyes that were upon him; Secondly, he and all his adherents are called Rebels for their pains, not only by *Abijah* his enemy, but alſo by the holy Ghoſt, who is enemy to none who are not Gods enemies, 2 *Chron.* 10.19. *And Iſrael Rebelled againſt the houſe of* David *unto this day*; his adherents were termed in Scripture vain men, and ſons of *Belial*, they were puniſhed with a deſtruction of five hundred thouſand of them, which was one hundred thouſand

ſand more then there were true Subjects for the ſlaughter; the Scripture ſaith, *God ſmote Abraham*, v. 5. If it be objected, that the thing could not but be well done, becauſe God ſaith, 1 *Kings* 14. *I exalted thee from among the people, and made thee Prince over my people Iſrael, and rent the Kingdom from the houſe of David, and gave it thee:* then it could not but be well done of *Rehoboam* (by the ſame reaſon) to anſwer the people as he did: for it is written, that *Rehoboam hearkened not unto the people, for the cauſe was from God, that he might perform the ſaying which he ſpake by Ahijah unto* Jeroboam *the ſon of Nebat*, 1 Kings 12. 15. Both were paſſive, and neither of them could reſiſt the will of God; but theſe places of Scripture are often times miſtaken, and miſapplyed, and interpreted either by thoſe who are not well acquainted with the nature of Scripture language, or elſe by thoſe who wilfully, and wickedly layed hold of ſuch a meaning as the Scripture may ſeem to give them leave; for all theſe and the like places of Scripture we muſt not take as Gods beneplacence or approbation, but only for his permiſſion; for otherwiſe we ſhould make a mad piece of work of it, for God ſaid, 1 *Sam.* 12. 11. *I will raiſe up evil againſt thee out of thine own houſe, and I will take thy wives before thine eyes, and give them to thy neighbour, and he ſhall lye with them in the ſight of the ſun:* doth this juſtifie *Abſolom* for lying with his Fathers wives and concubines in the ſight of all *Iſrael? Is there any evil that I have*

not done it, saith the Lord? therefore did the Citizens do well to do evil, because the Lord said, *I did it?* God did it, that is to say, he caused it to be done, as the evil of punishment, not as the tolleration of evil, so this thing was from the Lord, that is to say, the Lord suffered such a thing to come to pass as a punishment of *Solomon* for his Idolatry on his posterity, and yet may no way approve of any such Rebellious courses: neither was *Rehoboam* so much to be blamed for his answer, as may be supposed, nor the people justified in their Rebellion neither, for they grounded their discontents upon a false ground, for the people complained when there was no cause, and demanded that which was not reason; hear the whole grievance, and consider it a little, 1 *Kings* 12.4. *Thy father made our yoke grievous* (that was false) *do thou make it light:* (no reason for that) for the people never lived happier neither before nor after, then they did in this Kings Fathers time, and might have done in his time, if they had known when they had been well, and Gods judgments would have suffered them to have seen it. For,

1. *They were a populous Nation, as the sand on the Sea for multitude,* 1 Kings 4. 20.

2. *They liv'd merrily, eating and drinking, and making merry.*

3. *The Nation was honoured abroad, for* Solomon *reigned over all the Kings that were round about him,* v. 21.

4. *They*

4. *They lived peaceably, they had peace in all sides round about them* v. 24.

5. *They liv'd securely and quietly, every man under his own Vine, and under his own fig-tree.*

6. *They had much Trading in his days, and much merchandize,* 1 Kings 10. 15.

7. *He was very beneficial to those Merchants, for he gave* Solomon, *not only large wisdom, but largeness of heart, and let those Merchants have commodities from them at a price,* v. 28.

8. *He maintained a brave fleet at Sea,* 1 King. 4. 21.

9. *He made silver and gold to be in* Jerusalem *as plentiful as stones, and Cedars as Sicamore-trees,* 2 Chron. 1. 16.

10. *These felicities were not only in the Court, or among the Nobility, or between the Citizens, but they were universal, even from* Dan *unto* Beersheba.

11. *They were not for a spurt and no more, or at one time and not at another; but all the days of* Solomon.

O me prope lassum juvate posteri.

Neither doth the Scripture make any mention of any such hard yoke at all, only the margent of the Bible directs us from the complaint of the people, to look upon the first Chapter of the *Kings*, v. 7. and there you shall only find how *Solomon* had twelve Officers over all *Israel*, which provided victuals for the King and his houshold, each man his month

in a year, but here is but a very ſlender ground for a quarrel, when the immediate verſe after the naming of thoſe twelve officers tells us, that the multitude of people as numberleſs as the ſand upon the ſea ſhore, were as merry eating and drinking as the King, and this place unto which we are directed (and no other) to find out this grievouſneſs, appears by the context of the ſame Chapter, to be mentioned as an expreſſion of *Solomons* glory and wiſdom, rather then of any tyranny, or polling of his people: for the whole relation ends with an expreſſion, that as the people were as the ſand of the Sea for number, ſo the largeneſs of the Kings heart extended as the largeneſs of the Sea for bounty, all were partakers of it, 1 *Kings* 4. 29. Pardon me therefore if I think that *Reboboam* had more reaſon to anſwer the people as he did, then the people had juſt reaſon to complain. *O altitudo!* O the unſearchable ways of God! where God ſuffers his people to be a rod to viſit the ſins of the fathers upon the children, he permits them to take a wrong cauſe in hand, that he may alſo caſt the rod into the fire.

I pray God the Merchants of London *be not too like thoſe Merchants of* Jeruſalem, *who Traded ſo long, until they brought over, together with other Merchandize, Apes and Peacocks, and the Traders begin to be too like their traffique, Apes for manners and behaviour, Peacocks for pride, and ruſling until the*

the Apes grow to be so unhappy, as to be brought to their chains, and the Peacocks, so vain-glorious, as to loose their feathers: and so I leave them both, tasting the fruit of their own follies.

CHAP. XII.

The Objection of Jehu *slaying his Master* Joram, *Answered.*

Objection.

THus *saith the Lord God of Israel, I have Anointed thee* Jehu *King over the people of the Lord, even over Israel, and thou shalt smite the house of* Ahab *thy Master, that I may avenge the blood of all the servants of the Lord at the hands of Jezebel:* Ergo, if a King, be thus wicked, we have Gods warrant, for the deposing and putting such a one to death.

Answer.

But stay until you have this warrant, and then we will allow it to be lawful; for though every one is apt enough to be a *Jehu* in his own case, yet every one is not a God-almighty, we must not clap his Seal to our own Warrants; what God commands at one time, we are not to make it our warrant to do the like at all times,

times, this is a prerogative of the Almighty, no privileg of a Subject; God may command *Abraham* to ſlay his ſon, but we muſt not go about to murther our children; God may command the *Iſraelites* to ſpoil the *Egyptians*, but we muſt not Rob and Coſen our neighbours; Chriſt may give order for the taking away of another mans goods, becauſe the Lord hath need of it, but we muſt not make neceſſity our pretence for Arbitrary power; theſe acts of the Almighty are ſpecially belonging unto him, and we muſt have his ſpecial warrant before we go about any ſuch thing.

But ſetting all ſuch plea aſide, I utterly deny that either *Jehu* did, or that God gave *Jehu* any ſuch authority as to ſlay King *Joram*, *Jehu* ſlew *Joram*, but *Jehu* did not ſlay the King, for *Jehu* by the Lords immediate appointment was King himſelf, before ever he laid hand upon *Joram*; *Joram* was but then a private man, for in the verſes going before, it is ſet down how that *Jehu* was Anointed King, how he was ſo proclaimed, and accordingly how he took the ſtate of a King upon him and executed the Office. 2 *Kings* 12. 13. before ever any mention is made of *Jehu* ſlaying *Joram*, v. 14. therefore here is no *regicidium*, as yet here is but plain man-ſlaughter, and a luſty warrant for that too: again, we muſt not only take heed of unwarrantable actions, but of falſe warrants, the private ſpirit is no ſufficient warrant to lay hold on ſuch a publique Magiſtrate: as there are falſe Magiſtrates ſo there

is a false spirit: for an erroneous spirit may as well condemn a good Magistrate as a bad Magistrate may be condemned by a good spirit: but there may be a higher mistake then all this, and I wish it were not too common amongst us now adays, to mistake the works of the flesh, for the fruit of the spirit: Let us compare them both together, as the Apostle hath set them in order.

The works of the flesh.	The fruit of the Spirit.
Adultery, Fornication,	*Love,*
Uncleanness Lasciviousness,	*Joy,*
Idolatry, Witchcraft,	*Peace,*
Hatred, Variance,	*Long suffering,*
Emulations, Wrath,	*Gentleness,*
Strife, Seditions,	*Goodness,*
Heresies, Envyings,	*Faith,*
Murders, Drunkenness,	*Meekness,*
Revellings.	*Temperance.*

By which of these two was *CHARLES the First*'s Head cut off?

CHAP.

CHAP. XIII.

Of the Neceſſity and Excellency of Monarchy.

A *Jove principium.* Let us begin with Heaven, and behold its Monarchy in the unity of the bleſſed Trinity; though there be three perſons, yet there muſt be but one God: for the avoiding of that which we are fallen into, a confounding of perſons, and dividing of ſubſtance. Deſcend lower, and conſider the Angels, and you ſhall find one Arch-angel above the reſt, as the Angels Monarch. Lower yet, to thoſe ſenſeleſs and inanimate Rulers of the Day and Night, the Sun and Moon, and you ſhall not find (or ſo much as the appearance of ſuch a thing) more Suns or Moons in the ſame firmament then one; without a prodigy or portent, of ſome dire, and direful event. Come down to the Regions and you ſhall find in the head of the higheſt Region a Prince of the air. Come to the loweſt, and you ſhall find amongſt the wing'd inhabitants thereof, the Soveraign Eagle, as the King of Birds. Come amongſt the Beaſts of the field, and the Lion will ſoon let you know, that there is a King of Beaſts. Run into the Sea, and their is a King of Fiſhes.

Deſ-

Deſcend into Hell and there is a Prince of Devils: and ſhall only man be Independent? Do we not obſerve the delving Labourer what pains he takes to joyn houſe to houſe, and land to land, till there be no more room for any competitor within his Dominions; and when he hath wrought his petty dunghils into a mixen, he thinks it Law and Reaſon, that the place ſhould not admit the Dominion of more Cocks then one, this man dies a Monarch in his own thoughts, and his ſon lives to inlarge his fathers Teritories, but at laſt dies big with thoughts of a principality, his ſon lays hold of all the advantages that may help him to the accompliſhment of his hereditary deſires. *Iuno, Lucîna fer opem obſecro*, he is a Prince, *Cælo timendum eſt Regna ne ſumma occupet qui vicit ima*, he muſt be an Emperour, *Diviſum imperium cum Iove Cæſar habet*, he muſt have all or none, none but *Iupiter* muſt ſhare with him. *Mundus non ſufficit unus*, when he hath all, and when all is done, the Empire after that it hath diſimbogu'd and incorporated into it ſelf, all the Kingdoms of the earth, terminates in an everlaſting Kingdom, that ſhall never be deſtroyed; *quam primum appropinquaverit regnum Cælorum*, as ſoon as the Kingdom of Heaven ſhall be at hand: and what's all this but to ſhew us that not only nature, but God himſelf, who is the God of Nature, affects Monarchy. The further off any government is to Monarchy, the worſe it is, the nearer the better, the reaſon's thus, that

Govern-

Government which avoids most the occasion of differences, must be most happy, because most peaceable; and peace only consists in unity: now where there are many Governours there must be differences: where there are few, there may be differences: where there is but one, there cannot.

The *Romans*, when they shook off their Government by Kings, and were distasted with their Government, for their Governours sake; tried all the contraverted Governments of the world, of two by their *Consuls*, of three by their *Triumvirat*, of ten by their *Decemviri*, of ten thousand by their *Tribunes*: when they found that the farther off they departed from Monarchy, the Center of all Government, the more they lost themselves in the circumference of their own affairs, they began a little to look back upon the Government from which they had deviated all the while, but yet with squint eyes; first, a King, and no King, a thing that was like a King, but not a King; a thing that was so *re*, and *tempore*, but not *nomine*; he must be only so, *pro una vice, unoq; anno*, such were their dictators: at last this sucking Government gathered strength, and grew to be perpetual, which perpetuity in one begot an everlasting Monarchy in all ages, which is to continue unto the end of the world; for the Prophet *Daniel* tells us, that at the end of the last and fourth Monarchy, which was the *Roman, Christ should sit upon his everlasting Kingdom that should never be destroyed*; therefore

therefore my *Enthusiasticks*, must either leave dreaming of pulling down all Kingdoms, and Empires in the world, or else think themselves the Kingdom of Christ, that we have pray'd for all along.

Neither is it unworthy of your observation, that as soon as ever this Monarchy was restored, there was universal peace over the whole world; and the Saviour of the world, who was *Princeps pacis*, vouchsafed not to come into the world, under any of the fore-mentioned governments; but *Imperante Augusto natus est Christus*, who was the first Emperour of the *Romans*. He who affects parity, let him begin it in his own house, and as he likes it in the model, so let him attempt it in the fabrick: for my part, I have read their arguments, and am so far from being evinced by any of them, that I do not believe that there is any such thing: I have been in all the Common-wealths in *Europe*, and I could not find any such thing as a *Free State*, I could find the word *Libertas*, fairly written over their Gates, but within their Walls the greatest Bondage and arbitrary power that could possibly be imagined in any part of the world, but no Liberty at all that I could find, but only some few there were, who had liberty to do what they would with all the rest. *Geneva* may of *six*, *Genoa* may have *seven*, *Venice* may have *eight*, the *Hollanders nine* or *ten*, *England* may have *five* Members or Leading-men as they call them; but what's all this but taking the

Government from off its ſhoulders, and putting it in ſome hand? And when you have done, it's ten to one but you ſhall find one of the fingers longer then all the reſt, and if you pleaſe you may call that King, and all the reſt ſubjects; what's this but a change from a Monarchy with one Crown, to a Tyranny with ſo many heads? If it were ſo that all *Free-States*, as they call themſelves, had all equal power, it would be ſo much the worſe, all theſe kinds of Government have their continuation and ſubſiſtance upon this only ground, *viz*, that neceſſity and craft drive them to come ſo near to Monarchy, and ſometimes to an abſolute Monarchy, when you reckon your *Hogan Mogan* only by the pole, and not by the polar ſtar, that commonly is fixed amongſt them, about which, all the reſt move and turn. But what do we talk of Monarchy or Ariſtocracy or Democracy, behold a well regulated Parliament, ſuch a one as ours might have been, and ought to be; hath the benefit and goodneſs that is in all theſe three kind of Governments, of Monarchy in the King, of Ariſtocracy in the Peers, of Democracy in the Houſe of Commons, where the acerbities of any one is taken away by their being all three together, but if one will be all, then all will be nothing. This ſtupendiouſly wiſe, and Noble way of Government had its diſſolution by inverting the courſe it took in its original. When the firſt *William* had conquered the Nation, the *Normans* would not admit that any

Laws

Laws should be observed, or rules obeyed, but only the will of the Conquerour; and why so? but because thereby the Conquerour might take away the Estates of any *English-man*, and give them to the Conquering *Normans*; But in process of time; when these *Normans* became *English*, they began to insist a little upon *meum* and *tuum*, and would know the what that was belonging to the King, as a King, and to themselves as Subjects; for by the former rule the King might as well take away the Estates from one *Norman*, and give it to another, as he did formerly from the *English*, and give to his *Normans*; wherefore they would have no more of that, but joyntly and unanimously Petitioned the King to the same effect, the King thought it reasonable, condescends to their desires, consultation was about the premises, the result of the Consultation was, that the King should issue out Writs to the Lords Spiritual (who in those days were thought the wisest and most Conscientious) to reason with the King, and advise with him, as well concerning the bounding of the Ocean of Soveraignty, as bridling in the petty Rivers of private interest. These Spiritual Lords thought it a work of too high a nature for their private undertakings, wherefore they supplicated his Majesty, that the Lords Temporal might be also summoned by Writ, and joyn with them in the same Authority; 'twas done accordingly; being done, they both thought it a business so transcendent, and of so universal concern-

ment, that they found a way to involve the whole Nation in a joynt conſent, which was, that all Free-holders in the Kingdom, in their ſeveral precincts, might by the election of two in every Connty, diſembogue all their ſuffrages into theirs, and to remain the Countries proxies, to Vote for, and to be directed by their ſeveral Countries; and thus the Commons were brought in: but behold the Viper, that eats through the ſides of its own Parents behold the Aſſes foal, who when ſhe hath done ſucking, kicks her own dam.

The King brings in the Lords Spiritual, the Lords Spiritual bring in the Lords Temporal, both bring in the Commons, the Commons deſtroy both, both deſtroy the King. Neirher was Kingſhip (as they call it) and Epiſcopacy better rewarded, for being the principal, and ſo zealous Reformers of the Goſpel, to have both their Crowns and Miters broke in pieces by the ſame hammer of reformation; and the walls of their Pallaces mingled with Abby duſt, caſting thereby ſuch a blot upon the very name of Reformation, that it will ſcarce be legible by Chriſtians, except what went before, and what may follow after, may help the future ages to the true ſence and meaning of the word: thus Rivers run backwards and drown their own Head; thus the mouſterous Children who are born with teeth in their mouths, bite off the nipple, and ſtarve themſelves for lack of ſuſtenance; thus blind

Sampſon

Sampsons revenge themselves upon their enemies, by pulling down the house upon their own heads; thus the forms of the most glorious government of a Church and State, are wounded to death through the sides of *Reformation:* If you are not, I am sure you will ere it be long be satisfied, that all the specious pretences of popular Goverment, *Free-State*, Liberty of the Subject, are but figments and delusions of the people, obtruded by vainglorious and haughty men, who knowing that they could not be that one Governour of all the rest, yet they hope to be one of many; thus foolish children set their fathers barns full of Corn on fire to warm their hands, when they are ready to starve for lack of bread: who had not rather live under a Government wherein a man is only bound to submit to him, whom it is honour to obey, then to live under a Government where every man is a slave, because every one is a Master? Finally, my opinion is this, *I had rather have my liberty to kneel before a Throne, then to be the tallest man in a crowd, and should think it more for my ease and honour.*

CHAP. XIV.

That there is no ſuch thing as a Free-State in the World.

IF by a *Free-State*, you mean a people who have ſhook off their Allegiance to their Prince, there are many ſuch *Free-States* to be found, but a beggars-buſh, or a company of *Gipſies* (who propound to themſelves new Laws) renouncing the old, and yet chuſe a King and Queen amongſt themſelves, pleaſing one another with a ſelf-conceited opinion of a thing they call Liberty, which is no otherwiſe then an ignoble bondage of their own chooſing, preferring the correction of a bundle of rods (becauſe their own hands have made them) before the ſway-meant of a Scepter, which God himſelf hath put into their Soveraigns hand) is as good a Common-wealth, or *Free-State* as the beſt: but if you mean by a *Free-State*, a freedom from Tyranny, you will be as far to ſeek for any ſuch thing in *rerum natura*, as for a reaſon why tyranny may not be in many, as well as in one: But if you mean by freedom an exemption from all ſuch tyrannical oppreſſions as are expreſſed in the Petition of Right; I ſee not why ſuch a Free-State may not be under a Monarchy: certainly I have

I have seen such Petitions, and insistances, during the late Kings Reign, as having relation to Freeborn people of *England*, and should think that the *Magna Charta* defended by one, who had power to make it good against the infringement of many breakers, and by a Parliament of many, authorized to the same purpose against the pessundation of it by any one, be it by the highest, may not be as good a way to make, preserve and keep a Nation free, as well as the intrusting of a Nations freedom into the hands of a few, whose Independency deny all remedies to be either above them, or below them. It may be it will not be thought tedious, if I entertain your eye and consideration with some Observations of my own, in those Free-states of Christendom (as they call themselves) wherein I have been. I shall begin with the Free-State of *Genoa*, wherein I have been resident some time, and the rather, because whilst *England* was a Kingdom, they could not have the face to stand in any competition with us; but now the Kings arms were cut off as well as his head, how should we do to make a distinction between them and us? for both the State of *Genoa*, and the State of *England* give the very same Coat of Arms, and St. *George* is both our patrons: Certainly *England* must give the Half-moon as the younger brother; and why should

ſhould not the Moon Creſcent follow after, now the *Turkiſh Alcoran* is come before?

When the overſpreading *Roman* Monarchy, like *Nebuchadnezzars* over-grown and lofty Tree was brought only to a ſtump chained to the ground, and when the Keys of Heaven and Hell had ſo well fitted the locks belonging to the Gates of *Rome*, as to give way to the enterance of that high Prieſt into the Imperial ſeat, then was *Genoa* a lop of that great fall: and ſoon after it was wrought into a bundle or faggot of a Common-wealth, until ſuch time as *Charles the Great* recovered all his Right in *Italy*, ſaving only the *Holy Land*, whoſe Princely ſword could never ſtrike at the already cloven Miters, but at Helmets.

Amongſt other Counties whoſe ſubduements, acknowledged *Charles* to be the *Great*, *Genoa* was one; which City was no leſs happy then famous, in affording a man who honoured her Walls, with making it known unto the World, that he came out of them under the name of *Andreas Dory* a *Genoſe*; this famous *Andreas Dory* was a zealous Common-wealths-man, and one of the new Gentlemen, as they call'd themſelves, (for you muſt underſtand,

ſtand, that when theſe States-men had ſhook off the yoke of Soveraignty, they expelled all their Gentry or Nobility; which no ſooner done, but they made a new Gentry or Nobility amongſt themſelves) and being a deſerving man, the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, will'd this *Andreas Dory* to aske and have what he deſired of all that he had Conquered: he asked *Genoa*, the Emperour gave it him, to do with it what he pleaſed, he gave it the Citizens, together with all their Liberties, and former Freedoms upon this conditions, That they ſhould recal the old Gentry in again, and ſettle them again in all their rights and priviledges, which being aſſented unto, *Genoa* became a Free-State again; but behold the Freedom, or rather the power and bonds of love and gratitude, neither the old or new Gentry, nor the Common people, would allow of any thing that was ſaid or to be done, but what this *Dory* ſhould command or ſay: nor was there a more abſolute and powerful Monarch upon the earth then he; and whilſt he liv'd he did continue ſo, becauſe the people would obey: who being once dead, the people ſoon found they did obey, becauſe they muſt: Yet ſtill it muſt be a Free-State, becauſe *Libertas* was written over the Senate-Houſe, and City-gates, but neither within their Senate, or their

Walls.

Walls, was there ever ſuch Tyranny over the common people, or the Citizens, then hath been all along, and is at this day practiſed by ſome few, who ſpit Monarchy in the face, and make no bones to ſwallow down all its adjuncts? Exerciſing their ſeveral Tyrannies with this juſtification, that they are the Supreme Authority, whilſt they deny Supremacy; gulling the people into a ſcotiſh belief, that they are not ſuppreſſed by one hand, becauſe it hath many fingers.

I ſhall inſtance unto you one particular, which was done whilſt I was there, whereby you may eaſily Judge in what Free-ſtate their Commons live: There was a ſubſtantial Citizen, between whom, and a Noble *Genoeſe* there was ſome grudge, this Senator ſtudies a revenge, and thus he intends it to be put Execution.

He gives command to one of his Braves (for ſo they call their Executioners) to kill this Citizen: this Slaughter-man (being by reaſon of ſome former Obligations) ſtruck with ſome remorſe of doing ſo high an act of ingratitude to one, who had ſo well deſerved at his hands; diſcovers the whole plot to his ſo much acknowledg'd patron, who very much acknowledges and

and commends the ingenuity of this discoverer; bids him to follow him where he leads him over a trap, where the leader knew full well how to order his steps, so that he might advance safely over the place, but the followers (ignorant of these Observations) must needs fall down a precipice, no less terrible, then destructive; the poor man is slain: this perfidious murderer watches his opportunity of meeting this designer of his death, in the *Merchato*, and gently takes him by the arm, and desires him that he might speak a word with him; they withdraw themselves out of the walk to a private corner: the Citizen tells this Noble-man that his servant had betraid him, in discovering his design to him on whom it should be Executed; in detestation of which perfidiousness, he had given him the reward of a Traytor (declaring the manner and form as is expressed) and desired in all humility that he would be pacified and that whatsoever differences were between them, that he would be pleased to be his own Judge whereupon they both became friends, no less satisfaction being acknowledged by the one, then ingenuity on the other party.

Such

Such shifts as these, are these Free-born people fain to make to appease the wrath and fury of their Lords and Masters: In a word, as their Territories is no otherwise then a continued breach of three hundred miles along the sea-shore, so the Inhabitants live no otherwise then do the fishes in the Sea, the greater fishes devour the less so where there is no King in *Israel*, every man doth that which is good in his own eyes: it cannot be otherwise.

From thence I went unto the Free-state of *Lucca*, and there I found the Free-men to have six Princes every year; and the Senate chusing six men, who elect a Prince for the Common-wealth every two months; this Prince ascending his Throne up these six steps, acts what he pleaseth: nor have the common people any more liberty, then the most rigid *Calvinists* will allow a Papist, free-will: Neither is their any other difference between this Government of the Free-State of *Lucca*, and the Empire of *Germany*, but that the one have so many Prime chusers, and the other so many Prince Electors, the one keeps it within the House of *Austria*, and the other keeps it out of the House of the *Medices*.

I went

I went from thence unto the ancient Common-Wealth of *Venice*, whose Government (if in any) I should approve of, because they never revolted from a better: but yet I must tell you, that at my first entrance into that City, I found the people full of complaints, of the heavy Taxes, exorbitant Power, and Arbitrary Government, which seized upon all their Plate, and what other goods of value they had, for the use of State, toward the maintenance of a War, which was both foolishly begun, and most carelesly run into by their Trustees, or Representatives; for the Pope of *Rome* had certain intelligence that the *Turk* was preparing to make War against some part of Christendom, the Pope sends to all the Frontier Princes of Christendom, advising them they should all agree as one man to make it their own case, and that they would assist one another, on what part of Christendom soever the storm should fall, and that the several Embassadours would take it into consideration, about proportioning every Prince or State according to their abilities, for their several supplies of men and money; to which they all soon condescended, except the *Venetian*, who told the rest, that there was a League between the *Grand Stignior* and the *Venetians*, and therefore they were not to fear any such War to be intended against them; to which it being demanded that if the *Turk* prevailed against other parts of Christendom round about the *Venetians*, whether they though the would let the *Venetians* alone at last? or whether the *Venetians* thought so or no, whether they did think

themſelves bound in honour and Chriſtianity to defend their neighbour Chriſtians againſt ſo common an Enemy? To which it was anſwered by the *Venetians*, that the very entring into ſuch a league and covenant with them, were enough to break the Peace between them and the *Turk*, whereupon the Junćto was diſſolved, and every tub was fain to ſtand on his own bottom; but it fell out that (by the Machiavillianiſm of the Card. *Richlieu*, who taught and perſwaded the *Turk* to break the League between him and the *Venetians*, becauſe he would not have the *Venetians* to lend the Emperour ſo much money, but would find them wales how to diſburſe it otherwiſe) the *Turks* waged War only againſt the *Venetians*, and none elſe, whereupon they were faln to endure the whole brunt of the War themſelves, and had no body to help them: this being ſo grievouſly found fault with by the common people, and their goods taken away *ad placitum*, their perſons preſt *de bene eſſe*, whether they thought ſo or no: I would fain know what liberty theſe people had, who could find ſuch faults without remedies, and loſe their goods without redreſs? what liberty is there in having freedom in the State, and none in the condition? I ſhall part with my children with tears in mine eyes, and through the ſame water behold the word, *Libertas*, written upon the *Rialto*; what am I the better for this freedom? Am I robbed of all my money, becauſe one thief takes it away? and am I not rob'd becauſe ſix or ſeven lay hold upon me? believe it, I never heard ſuch complaints either in the King or Par-

Parliaments time, of oppreſſion and tyranny, as I heard in this City during the time that I was there; and this not only during the War, but alſo in the times of Peace, five or ſix men Rule the whole State, and it may be the Prince none of them neither. I ſhall relate unto you a ſtory of one *Loridan* a Noble *Venetian*, who keeping a Courtiſan, on whom he was intended to beſtow a favour, he went into a rich Shop for to buy her ſome cloth of gold to make her a Gown, the Prentice was only in the ſhop, whom he commanded to cut out ſo much of ſuch a piece as the Taylor gave directions, which done, he will'd the Prentice to tell his Maſter that he would be accomptable to him therefore; the boy excuſed himſelf, he being but a ſervant, and not having any ſuch directions from his Maſter, not doubting, but that if his Maſter were there, he would willingly truſt him for what he ſhould be pleaſed to command; the Noble *Venetian* takes his leave, willing the Boy to tell his Maſter, that he ſhould rue the day that ever he kept ſuch a ſawcy Boy to give him ſuch an affront, and ſo departed in great fury: the Maſter of the Shop preſently coming in, and hearing the relation of what had happened, tore his hair, wrung his hands, ſtampt upon the ground, and like a mad-man cryed out, that the Boy had undone him, and all his poſterity; takes the whole piece with him, follows this Noble *Venetian* to his Curtiſans, offers to bribe the Curtiſan with the whole piece, if ſhe would intermediate for him which with much difficulty, and many pleadings ſhe ſo appeas'd his

wrath, that he was satisfied: and this was as common for a Senator of *Venice* to do, as for a Parliament man to pay no debts.

Neither is their any Law or Justice to be had against any of these Statesmen: There was a Noble-man who was an *Austrian* both by Birth and Family, who being a Traveller, chanc'd to cast his eyes upon a fair and vertuous Lady, who in every respect were deserving of each other: This Noble-man had nō sooner made his mind known unto his *Paragon* for beauty, but he was soon obstructed with a corrival, who was a *Nobile Veneti-ano*; who perceiving his Mistress affections to this Stranger to be more liberally expressed than unto him, contrives his death, and soon effects it, she loving her Martyr more than either others conceived, or she her self could brook, so great a cross concerning them, studies revenge, and being an *Italian*, found her self easily prompted by her own natural inclination, she pretends much love, that she might the better put in execution her greatest hatred, she gets him into a Chamber, where she prays him to rest himself in a Chair, wherein he was no sooner sat but his arms and thighs were caught with springs, and being thus fastened, she murders him with her own hands, and flies for sanctuary to the next *Nunnery* within the Popes Dominions, leaving behind her, by the murdered, these words, written with her own hand in a piece of paper, *Because there is no justice to be executed against a Noble* Venetian, *I have been both Judge and Executioner my self.* Men may talk what they will, and fancy what they please, but there is no more dif-

difference, in point of freedom between a *Monarchy* and a *Free-State* (as they call it) than there is between a High Sheriff of a Shire, and a Committee of a County; *utrum horum mavis accipe*

Now for the Free State of our Neighbour *Netherlands*, otherwise called *the States of Holland* (who have sprung up (as all other Free-States will do at last) *from the submissive and humble stilings of the distressed, to the High and Mighty*). The particulars which occasioned their revolt from their Soveraign the King of *Spain*, I shall not insist upon, but refer you to the *Spanish* and *Netherland* Histories; only I shall hint upon the main inducements to their Rebellion; *viz. Religion* and *Freedom*.

For the first, There is not a People amongst whom the name of God is known, to whom Religion is a greater stranger, than unto these *stilers* of themselves, *Reformed Protestants*, for if this Free-state, who allow all Religions both of the *Jews* and *Gentiles*, whose several Churches own, in Capital letters over their doors, the several sects of Religions, to which each Libertine is inclined, be Religious, than the *Pantheonists* were as truly Reformed and Religious as the *Amsterdamians*; but as he, who sacrificed to all the Gods in general, must needs have sacrificed unto the true God, and yet know him not, because he joyned others with him, who was to be worshipped alone: So that Country which embraceth all Religions, happily may have the true Religion amongst them, and yet have no Religion, because they admit of many, being there is but one; This

I speak in reference to the Country, not to particular men. Neither is there a sort of Christians in the world who are less servants unto *Christ*, if it be enough to make them so, to be the greatest prophaners of his day: for the Sabbath is only distinguished from other daies, by a Sermon in the Church, and the Ale-house being full of Mechanicks, drinking and carousing from morning until night; the shops are open, and buying and selling all the day long, excepting half the window, which is to distinguish the day, but the door is open to let in the buyers, and the other half of the window is open to let in the light: and wonderfully strange it is, and remarkable to consider how these people, who shook off their Allegiance to their Prince upon pretences of Reformation, should be so besotted, as to fall into such a strange and unheard of prophaneness of him, and the day whereon *Christ* himself is to be worshipped, as in their Metropolis, or chief City, to have a dog-market kept to the utter scandal of true Religion and Christianity it self, this is no more than what I have seen, and if it were not true, it were easily returned upon my self as the greatest impudence that could be imagined; but O the partiality of the Picture-drawer, when he receives large wages for a similitude! he insults over his own work only because it is like, when the face it self is most abominable.

Now for the freedom from Tyranny and oppression; if the *Turks* or *Tartars* had conquered them, they never would (nor never did where ever they extended their Dominions) impose such

Taxes

Taxes and Rates as they have impoſed on one another, incredible; even to the full value of the ſeveral commodities, which run through their natives hands; but you will aſk me, how it is poſſible they ſhould live then? To which Ianſwer you, by ſharking and coſening of ſtrangers: Let any forraigners come there and aſk for a dinner, and for ſuch a dinner as they may well afford for eight pence a-piece, they will aſk you five ſhillings a man; find but the leaſt fault with them, and they will demand twelve pence a piece more for fouling of linnen; and if you ſeem angry at that, you ſhall mend your ſelf with the payment of ſix pence a-piece over and above for fouling the room: and ſeek a remedy, and you ſhall be told, the Prince of *Orange* himſelf if he were there could not help it: *altom all*, is all the reaſon they will give you; if in ſadneſs you ſhall complain of ſuch abuſes to indifferent Judges, they will tell you, that the States do lay ſuch heavy Taxes upon the Inhabitants, that they are fain to flie to ſuch ſhifts for their ſubſiſtance; thus men pleaſed with the itch of Innovation, are contented to ſcratch the blood out of their own bodies, till they feel the greateſt ſmart; rather than their Phyſician ſhould let out a little ſpare blood, to cure the diſeaſe, and preſerve them in good health; but you will ſay, that for all this, they thrive and proſper abundantly, ſo do the *Argiers men*, but with what credit and reputation in the eye of the World? I believe both alike: It was not their ſtrength or policy, which brought them to this height and flouriſhing condition: but it

was our policy of State, in emulation to other Princes, which helped these Calves to Lions hearts, teeth, and claws, until the High and Mighty *Butter-boxes* stood in competition with the Crown: and I am afraid the siding with such Rebels, hath turned Rebellion into our own bosoms, as a just judgment from that God who is a revenger of all such iniquities, they may call it the School of War, whilst wanting a good cause, it could be no otherwise than the Christians shambles: I should be sorry that *Holland* should be the *English-mans* Looking-glass: a spur for his feet, or a copy for his hand, I hope the hand of Providence will cure us, like the Physician, who cur'd his Patient by improving his disease, from a gentle Ague to a high Feaver, that he might the better help him.

CHAP.

CHAP. XV.

That Epiſcopacy is Jure Divino.

IN this Diſcourſe I ſhall not trouble my ſelf, nor you with Titles, Names and words of Apoſtles, Evangeliſts, Arch-biſhops, Biſhops, Patriarchs, Preſbyters, Miniſters, Angels of Churches, &c. which were all from the higheſt to the loweſt, but tearms reciprocal; and were often taken in the Church of God, and in the Scripture it ſelf, for one and the ſame; for if any man, though never ſo mean, a Miniſter of the Goſpel converted any Nation, the Church ever called him, the Apoſtle of that Country; as *Auſtin*, though but a Monk, was every where tearmed the Apoſtle of *England*: and St. *Paul*, being an Apoſtle, ſtiles himſelf a Miniſter of the Goſpel of Jeſus Chriſt: *Paul* bids *Timothy* being a Biſhop, to do the work of an Evangeliſt; and therefore no wonder if Biſhops and Preſbyters be often mentioned for one and the ſame: but it is a great wonder that any manner of men, ſhould make this a ground for any argument againſt Epiſcopacy; theſe kind of arguments inſtead of ſtriking fire that ſhould light the candle, they do but pin napkins over our eyes, and turn us round, until we know not where we are; and then we grope for we know not who, and lay hold of we know not what: he that will cut down this over-grown up-ſtart-tree of error, muſt firſt clear his way to

to the root, and brush away all those brambles, and briers, which grow about it; we must not leave any thing standing, that may lay hold of the hatchet, and deviate the stroke, turning the same edge upon the feller, that was intended for the tree: if we should insist upon names and titles, we should make but a confounded piece of work, and run our selves into a most inextricable labyrinth and Mazes of error; where we might run and go forwards and backwards, and round about, and ne're the near: Christs are Kings, Kings are Gods; God is Christ, and Christ is Bishop of our souls; Bishops are Presbyters, Presbyters are Ministers, a Minister is an Apostle, an Apostle is a Minister: and so if you will quite back again. I must put off these, as *David* threw away *Sauls* Armour, *non possum incedere cum iis*; I love to knock down this *monstrum informe ingens cui lumen ademptum*, with a blunt stone taken out of a clear River, which with the sling of application may serve well enough to slay this erroneous *Philistine*, though he were far greater than he is.

In the first place therefore let us understand what is meant by *Jus Divinum*; if any man means that Episcopacy is so *Jure Divino*, that it is unalterable, and must continue at all times, and in all places, so that where it is left off, there can be no Church, he means to give much offence and little reason; for there is no question but the Church may alter their own Government (so that it be left to themselves to alter) as they shall think most convenient, as well as alter the Sabbath.

bath from the seventh day to the first of the week, or as well as they chang'd immersion into asperſion of the baptiſed, and many other things which carried as much *Jus Divinum* with them as Epiſcopacy, and yet were chang'd. The *Jus Divinum* that is in Epiſcopal Government, doth not conſiſt in the Epiſcopacy, but in the Government, be it Epiſcopal or what it will; but where the Government is Epiſcopal, no queſtion but there Epiſcopal Government is *Jure Divino*, becauſe a Government; and if it were otherwiſe, that Government into which Epiſcopacy degenerateth, would be *Jure Divino*, as well as it, provided that none touch this Ark of the Church but the Prieſts themſelves; for if the hand which belongs to the ſame body, pull the hat from off the head, the man loſes not his right, only he ſtands in a more humble poſture, but he is in as ſtrong poſſeſſion of his own right, as when 'twas on his head, but if another hand ſhould chance to pull it off, the party ſtands diſgracefully depriv'd of his higheſt Right and Ornament. So if Epiſcopal Government of the Church be put down, or altered by Church-men themſelves, the *Jus Divinum* is but removed from the Supremacy of one, and faſtened in the ſtronger hold of many members, for this is a Maxim that admits no poſtern, power never falls to the ground, neither in Church nor State, but look what one lets fall, another takes up before ever it comes to ground, wherefore loſing nothing, they keep their own; but whether this power in Church or State in the point of convenience be better in the hands of one or ma-

many, let whose will look to that, that's not my work; neither the names of Governments nor the numbers of Governours shall ever be able to fright away this *Jus Divinum* out of the Church Government, be the Government what it will, *bene visum fuit spiritui sancto & nobis*, keeps in the *Jus Divinum*, be the Government never so altered, whereas forbidden and improper hands, actions, as unusual, as unwarrantable, lets out this *Jus Divinum*, when they have changed it to what they can imagine, now whether or no it be proper for a Lay-Parliament, or a Representative of Lay-men, by the power of the Sword, declining the Kings Authority, will and pleasure, who was appointed by God to be a nursing Father of his Church, to alter Church-Government, so Antient, so begun by Christ himself in his own person over so many Apostles, so practis'd by the Apostles over others, so continued all along, I mean Episcopacy, that is to say, one Minister constituted an Overseer of many, and to lay hold upon tumults and insurrections, to pull down these Overseers, and for men who in such cases should be governed by the Church, to pull down the Church-Government without any the least consent of the Church Governours; I leave it for the World to judge; only my one opinion is this, That any Government thus set up, or by such practices as these altered, must needs be so far from being *Jure Divino*, that it must needs be *Jure Diabolico*. But it may be objected, that if they should have stayed until the Bishops had altered themselves, they might have styed long enough;

enough; to which it may be answered, that had the Bishops been but as poor as *Job*, there would have been no such hast to change their cloaths. The Ark was a type of the Church, and whatsoever was literally commanded concerning the type, must be Analogically observed in the thing typified; God sate in the Mercy-Seat that was over the Ark, the Ark contained within it *Aarons* Rod, and a pot of *Manna*, so the Church contains the Law and the Gospel, the killing letter and the reviving spirit; others interpret the Rod to signifie the Government and Discipline of the Church, as the *Manna* the Doctrine of Christ, and food that came down from heaven: I take it to signifie both, and both answers my purpose; if both be therein contained, neither must be touch'd but by the Priests themselves; neither must we confine this prohibition to the Priests of the Law only, but we must extend it also to the Ministers of the Gospel, both which were typified by the two Cherubims, or Ministring Angels of the Almighty: these Ministers or Angels, though opposite to one another, yet they both look't alike, and neither of them upon one another, but both of them upon the Ark that was between them, there was mutuality in their looks, and their wings touch'd one another; so though the Ministers of the Law and the Gospel seem opposite in the Administration of the same grace, yet they must come so near as to touch one another in the manner of the Administration; *exempli gratiâ*, as there was in the old Law High Priests, Priests and Levites, so in the new Law, Bishops, Prel'y-

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ters and Deacons; as none but Priests were to touch the Ark, so none but the Ministers should reform the Church.

Thus much for Government; Now for Episcopacy; the question then concerning Episcopacy, will be, whether or no, *Jure Divino*, one Minister (which answers to all names and sorts of Churchmen, and Church-Officers whatsoever) may not exercise jurisdiction and power over many Ministers within such a place or territory? If this be granted, the Bishops ask no more: if it be denyed, how then did Christ Jesus, Bishop of our souls, give orders and directions to his twelve Apostles, and taught them how they should behave themselves throughout this Diocese the whole World? How did St. *Paul* exercise jurisdiction over *Timothy* and *Titus*, who were both Bishops? and how did these two Bishops exercise jurisdiction over all the Ministers of *Creet* and *Ephesus*? was not this by Divine Institution? If I find by Divine Writ, that Christ laid the foundation of his Church in himself alone being over all the Apostles, and if I find that these Apostles, every Apostle by himself (in imitation of our Saviour) accordingly exercised jurisdiction and authority over many Ministers which were under them, and commanded others to do the like, as *Paul*, *Timothy* and *Titus*, and if I find the practice of the Church all along through the whole tract of time, to continue the like Discipline; shall not I believe this Discipline to be *Jure Divino*, except Christ sends down a new *conje deslier* from heaven, upon the election of every new Bishop? Christ

Christ lays the foundation, we build upon it, he gives us the Model, we follow the Pattern, the Church is built; is not this by *Divine Right*, because he doth not lay the several stones with his own hands? Christ promised that he would be alwaies with his Church, and that he would send his holy spirit amongst them, which should lead them into all truth, so that the gates of Hell should not prevail against it; but if Episcopacy be Anti-Christian, then the gates of Hell have not only prevailed against it a long time, but all along. As all Judgments are given in the Kings Name, and all Records run *Rege præsente*, though the King be not there in person, but in power; so the universal and un-interrupted and continued and generally received Discipline of his holy Catholick Church (which Church we are bound to believe by the Apostolical Creed) is *Christo præsente* (Ergo *Jure Divino*) though Christ be not there in person, but in power; which power he conferr'd upon those who were to be his Successours, which were called Apostles, *As my Father sent me, so send I you: and he that heareth you, heareth me; and loe I will be with you alwaies unto the end of the world:* surely this Discipline of one over many, call it what you will, is to descend and continue unto the end of the World.

Object. But it may be objected, How can you prove that Christ commanded any such thing, or that Christ gave to the Apostles any such power, as to make Successors in their steads, with a warrant for it to continue from age to age?

Sol. Where do you find that Christ gave the Sacrament to any but his Disciples? *drink ye all of this*, but they were all Apostles to whom he said so? where did you find that Christ administred the Sacrament, or commanded it to be administred unto any Lay-men, or women? therefore is not the Sacrament given unto them *Jure Divino*, because the words were left out in the conveyance? When there grew a disputation concerning Divorcements, Christ sends us to the Original, *Sic autem non fuit ab initio*, if Christs rule be good, then the Bishops are well enough, for they may say concerning Episcopacy, I mean one over many (and that safely too) *sic erat ab origine.* Some are very unwilling that this Episcopacy should be intail'd by Christ upon his Apostles and their successors, out of these words, *Mat.* 28. 20. *I will be with you alwaies to the end of the world*; they will not have it to mean in their successors; but the meaning to be this, *I will be with you alwaies unto the end of the world*; that is to say, in the efficacy, and power of my word and Gospel, to all ages; why may it not signifie this, and that too: that it doth one, is no argument but that it may do both: God made all things, in number, weight, and measure, and will you slight his word? shall *sensus factus* thrust out *sensus destinatus* out of Scriptures? the first Ministers of the Gospel must be *adæquate* to the first Minister of the Law, and behold the same Method observed in both their Institutions: what difference is there between Christ's words to his Disciples, *I am with you alwaies unto the end of the world*,

world, Mat. 28. 20. and Gods words unto *Aaron* at his setting him apart for the High Priests Office? *This shall be a Statute for ever unto thee, and to thy seed after thee*, Exod. 28. 43. Certainly if the Gospel be nothing else but the Law revealed, and the Law be nothing else but the Gospel hidden; whatsoever is written or said of the Ministers of the one; must needs have reference to the Ministers of the other: and I shall desire you to look a little back upon the words which God said to *Aaron*; when God speaks of the seed of *Aaron*, he only maketh mention of the seed after him; but when he speaks of the Statute, he saith it shall be for ever: if I do not flatter my own judgment, that tells me, that this Statute of High Priesthood, or Episcopacy, call it what you will, must have heirs after the seed of *Abraham* is expired, and did not the Catholick Church all along call the receiving of the Holy-Ghost, the order of Priest-hood? did ever any record above seven years date, call it making of Ministers? and why are they angry with the word Priest? Is it because the Prophet *Isaiah*, Prophecying of the Glory of Christs Church tells us, *we shall be named Priests of the Lord, but that men shall call us Ministers of God?* Isa. 61. 6. *If the Ministration of the Law be glorious, shall not the Ministration of the Gospel be much more glorious*, 2 Cor. 1. 3. and shall the Ministers of the same Gospel be less glorious? When you see a man that cannot abide to see anothers glory, you may be sure he is no kin to him, or very far off; so you may be assured that these are no true sons of the Church, nor to

right Children, who think a Chair too great ſtate for their Fathers to ſit in. In the Apoſtles time theſe Biſhops, or if you will, Superintendents (which are all in one ſignification, only a good Greek word chang'd by Mr. *John Calvin*, into a bad Latin word) were ſtiled Embaſſadors of the Almighty, Stars of Heaven, Angels of the Church, &c. but now theſe Embaſſadours are uſed like Vagabonds; theſe Stars, are not Stars but fallings; and the Angels are no where to be found but aſcending and deſcending *Jacobs* Ladder; whilſt this reputation was given unto the Church, and its Officers, the Stones of its building were in unity, but as it is now, it ſeems no otherwiſe than as a Corps kept under ground ſeemingly intire, but once touch'd, ſoon falls to duſt and aſhes. Never was there ſuch a Monſter as this ruling, and thus conſtituted *Preſbytery*, the Father of it Rebellion, the Mother Inſurrection, the Midwife Sacriledge, the Nurſe Covetouſneſs, the Milk Schiſm, the Coats Armour, the Rattle Drums, a Bloudy Sword the Coral, Money the Babies that it delights to play withal, it grows up to be a ſtripling, and goes to School to a Council of War, its Leſſon is on the Trumpet, its Feſcue a Piſtol, its going out of School in Rank and File, its Playdaies the daies of Battail, and Black-munday the day of Judgment; it comes of age and is Married with a Solemn League and Covenant, it begets Children like it ſelf, whoſe bleſſing upon them is the power of the Sword, and whoſe Impoſition of hands are broken pates; This Monſter cries down this truly Ancient Catholick and Apoſto-

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lick power which the Biſhops exerciſed; and then takes it up again, and uſes it themſelves in a higher nature than ever any Biſhops or Apoſtles themſelves did or durſt have done, even to the Excommunication and Depoſement of their Kings (to the delivering of them up unto Satan, and to Hang-men, if they ſtood but in their way) to whom the Apoſtles taught ſubmiſſion, (how faulty ſo ever they were) and if not obedience, yet ſubmiſſion, to every one of their Ordinances, if not for their own ſakes, yet *for the Lords ſake*, and for *Conſcience ſake*: theſe men cry down the ſame authority as Popiſh, *whilſt they exalt themſelves above all that are called Gods*, in a higher manner, than ever any Pope of *Rome* ever yet did. We will begin with this Monſter in the very place of its Nativity, and ſo obſerve him all along through the whole tract of time; we will conſider how it dealt with the firſt Prince, under whoſe Dominions it pullulated, which was under the Prince and Biſhop of *Geneva*, and theſe two were both nullified in the ſame perſon, as they were both here in *England* by the ſame Parliament; verifying that Maxim of ours (with that fore-running of theirs) *No Biſhop, No King*; and then we will ſhew you how they dealt with our Princes here at home, where ever they had a power, *viz.* with *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and *James* and *Charles* the Firſt Kings of *England* and of *Scotland* both, and then uſurp a power themſelves, higher than Popes or Kings. *Calvin* with his gladiators, having expuls'd the Prince and Biſhop of *Geneva*, ſets up a Government ſo high and unexpected, that

that the people would have nothing to do either with him, or his Government: and thereupon they baniſhed him the City; *Calvin* (in exile) bethinks himſelf how he might appeaſe their fury, and give them ſatisfaction, and be invited in again; *Calvinus de triſtibus* thinks it his beſt courſe of endearing himſelf unto the people, to make them ſharers with him in the Government, whereupon he invented his new fangle of Lay-Elders, and ſo all parties were agreed; In comes Mr. *John Calvin* (whilſt he was ſcarce warm in his ſeat) I ſhall preſent you with a ſtory of him and of his demeanour of himſelf towards the temporal Throne: There was a Noble-man of *Italy*, who liked the Reformation which he had begun ſo well, that he forſook his Religion and Country, ſold his Lands and Fortune, converted all into money, and took Sanctuary in *Geneva*; as ſoon as he came there, great rejoycing and inſulting there was, that their cauſe was honoured with ſo high a Convert: The grand Seignior falls a building; directing his Maſons, he found one of them ſomething more ſawcy than to what his Lordſhip (in his own Country) had been accuſtomed, little thinking that where there was promiſed ſo large a reſpect of ſouls, there had been ſo little reſpect of perſons: this Noble-man hereupon gives this Maſon a gentle tap upon the head, the Maſon flies upon him like a Dr[illegible] ſhakes him by the [illegible]: my Lord not being uſed to ſuch courſe ſalutations, ſtabs him with his Dagger, thinking nothing leſs, but that ſo high a provocation would have pleaded his indempnity; no

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such matter, my Lord was soon laid hold on, and brought to his Trial: *Calvin* upon the Tribunal, not as a Temporal Judge in such cases (take heed of him) but only to be asked his opinion in cases of Conscience; the Delinquent pleads for himself, tells them how insolently he was provoked, and wonders, considering such provocation, he should be questioned for so vile a varlet: Hereupon Mr. *Calvin* soon starts up, and tells him, that with God (whose seat they held) there was no respect of persons, and for ought he knew, that man whom he despis'd to death, was as near and dear to God and his favour, as himself: their Laws knew no such distinction as Man-slaughter and Murder; but they were regulated by the Divine Law, that told them, *that the man that sheds mans blood, by man shall his blood be shed*; that there was no exemption by greatness, nor buying it off by favour; the Noble-man replyed, that he had not been long enough amongst them to be acquainted with their Laws; it was answered, that the Law of nature did forbid that, of which he could not be ignorant (all this was well enough.) My Lord told them how hard a case it would be that a man out of his love and liking to the place and manners, should seek to it as a sanctuary for his conscience, and so soon find it his grave: that he was heartily sorry for what he had done, and would give any satisfaction to his wife and children that the Court should order, or his estate allow; he intended the man no hurt, before such rough hands shook him out of himself, that he knew not what he did, and therefore he humbly

bly begg'd their pardon, assuring them for the future, that his waies should be so directly answerable to those paths they walked in, that he would not by Gods grace hereafter step aside. The Temporal Judges, won with his humble and submissive behaviour began to relent, and desired Mr. *Calvin* to abate a little of his rigour, for the reasons before mentioned, assuring him that his case was no common case, and therefore it ought to have respect accordingly; hereupon there grew a hot dispute between the Spiritual, and the Temporal Judges; *Calvin* remained stiff in his opinion, and would not be bent to the least mercy; the Noble-man thought to throw one grain of reason more into the ballance, that should turn the scales, and that should be taken out of a consideration had of their own good: for saith he, if you shed my blood hand over head, without any the least respect had to my years, to my birth, to my education, to the little time I had of being acquainted with your Laws, nor to the provocation it self, nor to the suddenness of the action, nor to the surprize of all my senses, nor to the satisfaction I would have given, nor to the repentance of my very soul, who will come amongst you? what Lord or Gentleman will live within your walls? Wherefore if you will have no consideration of me, yet consider your selves; consider what a blow it will give to your Religion, how many this very thing will stave off from ever having any thing to do with you; by this time they were all prone to mercy, but *Calvin* alone, who stands up, and cries *fiat justitia, ruat Cœlum*; neither could

could he be brought to give his opinion, that the Jury (as we call them) might not paſs upon him; but out went the Jury, and contrary to their own Law, hearing the Noble-mans plea, and obſerving well the inclination of the Bench in general, they brought in their Verdict, *not guilty*; whereupon the Noble-man was acquitted: hereupon *John Calvin* riſes from the Bench, and whilſt the reſt proceed to their matters, calls all the Miniſters within the Walls and Liberties of *Geneva*, who appear before the Judgment Seat, with white Wands in their hands, which they laid down, telling them, that with thoſe wands they laid down their Offices, proteſting that they would never Preach the Goſpel to a people whoſe human Laws ſhould run contrary to the Laws Divine; and ſuddenly turned about and took their leave: which being acted with ſo much gravity, wrought ſo much upon the beholders, that they preſently ſent for them back again, and hanged the Noble-man. This ſtory I have read in their own Hiſtory in *Geneva*, than which my thoughts were then, as they are ſtill, that never any Pope of *Rome*, did act as Pope of *Rome*, or ſo much as claim half that Authority over the Civil Magiſtrate, as this anti-Pope did virtually act; and yet was not aſhamed to make leſſer matters than this the ground of the quarrel with the Biſhop, who alſo was their Prince, when in his own perſon he acts the part of both.

Now

Now we will see how these kind of creatures have plaid the Masters of mis-rule among our Princes here at home. King *James* in his Discourse at *Hampton* Court, tells us how the Presbyterians became Lords Paramount in his Kingdom of *Scotland*, and how they used his Mother the Queen of *Scots*, viz. *Knox* and *Buchanan*, and the rest of that gang, came unto *Mary* Queen of *Scots*, and told her, that by right, no Pope nor Potentate whatsoever, had any superiority over her in her own Dominions, either in cases Civil or Ecclesiastical, but that she her self was Supreme in both, and constituted by God as the only nursing Mother of his Church, within her Dominion, and therefore conjured her to look about her, and not to let the Pope of *Rome*, or any of his agents, to have any thing to do within her Territories, and to have care of Christs *Evangel*, as she would answer it at the dreadful day of Judgment; she gives them her ear, and at last her authority, they make use of it in the first place, to the pulling down of the Bishops, and exalted themselves in their room; when the Queen look'd for an absolute Supremacy, behold all the Supremacy that these men would allow her, was not so much as to have one private Chapel for her self, nor one Priest whereby she might serve God according to her own conscience; she finding her self so much deceived, labours to recal her Authority, they kept her to it; she takes up Arms, they oppose her, fight her, beat her out of her Kingdom; she flies into *England*, they follow her with invectives, thrust jealousies into the Queen of *Englands*

lands bosom concerning her, she is imprisoned, and after a long imprisonment put to death. King *James* having related this passage in the forementioned discourse unto Dr. *Reynolds*, and *Knewstubs* and the rest, turns unto the Bishops, and closes his Discourse with this Animadversion; Wherefore, my Lords, I thank you for my Supremacy, for if I were to receive it from these men, I know what would become of my Supremacy. The shining light of the Gospel, and the burning zeal of the Ministers thereof, may fitly be compared to fire, which if it be not in every room confin'd to one hearth, and limited to one tunnel, that may convey out of this so comfortable and necessary a blessing, all that may be destructive, and offensive in it, up toward the highest region, but is suffered like wild-fire to run up and down the house, it will soon turn all to flames and high combustions; so the government of the soul seems to be of so transcendent nature to what the government of the body and goods is, that if it be not overtopt with superintendency or Episcopacy, and so dismbogued into the Supream authority, this comfortable heat if limited, as it turns to our greatest benefit, so neglected and boundless, soon converts it self into a suddain destruction and ruine. If you will hear how these men dealt with King *James*, her Son, and Father to *Charles the First*, you shall find it in his *Basilicon Doron*, *Crebræ adversus me in tribunitiis Concionibus Calumniæ spargebantur non quod crimen aliquod designâssem, sed quia Rex eram, quod omni crimine pejus habebatur.* Are these men good Subjects? did

they not convene him diverſe times before them, ſchool him, Catechize him like a School-boy? did he not proteſt unto his Son *Henry*, that he miſlik'd their proud and haughty carriage ever ſince he was ten years of age? did he not ſay that Monarchy and Preſbytery agreed like God and the Devil? and have we not found it ſo, if we conſider the behaviour of our new made Preſbyterians in *England*, to *Charles the firſt*, *his Son?* O but the Preſbyterians had no hand in it, they Pray'd and Preach'd, and Writ againſt it, faſted and pray'd for a diverſion of all ſuch intentions: but I pray, who took the Scepter out of his hand, in taking away the *Militia*, of which it was an Emblem, that ſhould have defended him, was it not the Preſbyterians? who caſt down his Throne, by taking away his *Negative voice*, was it not the Preſbyterians? who took off his Crown, the fountain of Honour from off his Head, by denying thoſe honour on whom he had conferr'd it without them, was it not the Preſbyterian? Who took away his Supremacy, ſignified by the Sacred Unction wherewith he was Anointed, in not allowing him the Liberty of his own Conſcience in the point of Epiſcopacy and Church-Government, was it not the Preſbyterian? Who would not Treat a minute with their King before they had made him acknowledge himſelf guilty (as they ſay) of all the blood that had been ſpilt throughout his Dominions, was it not the Preſbyterian? Who (notwithſtanding all the Conceſſions on his part that could be granted, even to the very grating his Princely Conſcience, when

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he bid them ask flesh from off his bones, and he would not deny it them, if it might have been a benefit unto his people, prayed that he might keep his Conscience whole, it was the Queen Regent of all good mens actions, and he hoped there were none would force this Queen before him in his house, as *Ahasuerus* said to *Haman*) voted not satisfactory so long, until the Independent Army came from *Edenborough*, and surpriz'd and murdred him, was it not the Presbyterians? He that said the Presbyterians held him down by the hair, while the Independents cut off his Head, said true enough, they murdered him as a King, before ever they murdered him as a man; for what may the Independent say to the Presbyter, if you'l take off his Authority, we'l take off his Head; if you'l make him no King, we'l make him no Body: if you'l make him a man of blood, we'l use him accordingly; therefore at your doors, O Presbyterian Hypocrites, do I lay his innocent blood, it is but like the rest of your actions, committed by your Ancestors to former Princes all along.

One thing I pray you well observe; There was never any Reformed Church in Christendom, but when they shook off their Bishops, they made their Apologies to all the Christian World, how they were necessitated to alter that Ancient and best form of Government of the Church by Bishops, in regard that they could not be drawn off from their obedience and dependance on the Pope of *Rome*; and if possible they would retain that laudable Government as most convenient;

but never were there any Reformers in the World, but ours, that ever held Episcopacy to be unlawful and Anti christian before; and will you know the reason? which is only this, the Bishops what they receive they lay down at his Majesties feet, as acknowledging him to be Supreme in all cases, when they would have him to be Supreme in no case, as *Buch. de jure Regni* plainly tells us, that Princes are no more but the Proxies and Attorneys of the people; and yet for all this, the Authority which they hold, to be as Anti-christian in the Chair, they practise as most Christian on the Bench, and much improve it. These Monsters that they may the better cry down the Divine Right that is in Episcopacy, and descended to them from the Apostles; tell us, that the calling of the Apostles was extraordinary, and died with them: to make answer to which assertion, we must consider how many waies a thing may be taken to be extraordinary, and if we find that it may be taken so many wales, if we can prove a thing extraordinary one way, we must not take it to be extraordinary in every respect; *exempli gratiâ*; *Saul* was extraordinarily called by God, because immediately by him, but this doth not make the calling of Kings to be an extraordinary calling, for that succeeded; so the Apostles were extraordinarily called by God, as not being called out of the Tribe of *Levi*, nor taken from the feet of *Gamaliel*, nor brought up in the schools of the Prophets, yet this doth not follow, that the calling of the Apostles should be extraordinary, for they had their successors: It may be

be extraordinay *à parte ante*; but not *à parte post*, only in regard of the manner of their election, but not in regard of the nature of their commission, they were called Apostles in regard of their Mission, not in respect of their Commission, which which was no more but what Bishops had, neither doth the word Apostle signifie so great Authority as doth the word Bishop, the one betokening but a Messenger, the other an Overseer, and therefore there is no extraordinariness hitherto, that they should not be extraordinary.

2. A man may be said to be extraordinary, in regard of some extraordinary gifts and endowments which God hath given unto a man, as unto the Apostles the gift of tongues, of healing, &c. but this doth no way make the calling extraordinary, for then it would follow, that if God Almighty should give unto any ordinary Minister, extraordinary gifts, then his calling should be extraordinary, or that the calling of Kings should be an extraordinary calling, because God bestows on some Kings the extraordinary gift of healing.

3. It may be further urg'd, the calling of the Apostles was an extraordinary calling, because they were pen-men of the Holy-Ghost, and in regard that the Holy-Ghost sat upon each of them; no, that doth not make it extraordinary *quoad nos*, that it should not descend, for other Divines and Evangelists, were pen-men of the Holy-Ghost as well as they, therefore what was not extraordinary to themselves, cannot be extraordinary to us.

4. For their receiving the Holy-Ghoſt, it is no otherwiſe but what all Biſhops, Paſtors, and Curates do receive, when they receive Orders, *Receive ye the Holy Ghoſt*, only the difference is this, they received it by the ſitting of cloven tongues, and they by impoſition of hands, but ſtill the extraordinaries conſiſt in the manner, but not the matter of the thing received, ſo that all the while there is no reaſon why this calling of the Apoſtles ſhould be ſo extraordinary, as that it ſhould not deſcend: If Chriſt promiſed to be with his Apoſtles unto the end of the World, and they did not continue unto the end of the World, ſurely I ſhould think without any ſtraining at Gnats, or ſwallowing of Cammels, that the meaning of our Saviours words ſhould be this, that he would be with thoſe in the aſſiſtance of his holy ſpirit, that ſhould ſucceed the Apoſtles in their Offices of ſupervifing his Church, and propagation of his Goſpel, except I ſhould ſee more reaſon than I do yet, why the Apoſtles calling ſhould be ſo peculiar, that it muſt not deſcend, or that the Government of one over many, be ſo inconſiſtent with the Church her good in after-time, more than in the beginning, that Epiſcopacy ſhould be ſo abominable.

Briefly I can compare theſe Preſbyters pulling down the Biſhops, to no other thing, than to a company of unhappy boys, who being not tall enough to reach the fruit, and wanting a Ladder, for the fruit ſake, lay hold upon the branches, and break down a bow, making it thereby no part of the tree; ſo theſe men, wanting merit to

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taſte the fruit of learning, and not having capacity enough in themſelves to reach thoſe preferments which the Church holds out to thoſe who are deſerving, they render that which was part of the Church, as ſever'd from the Body, which is the higheſt kind of Sacriledge, not only in depriving the Church of part of its goods, but part of it ſelf.

Laſtly, if there be no other reaſon to be given, if not for the Divine Right of Epiſcopacy, yet for the lawfulneſs thereof, but this one topical argument which I ſhall uſe, raiſed out of the continued practice of the Church in all ages, to men whoſe faces are not bra'd ſo thick, that it were reaſon proof, it were ſufficient in my underſtanding, *viz.*

Suppoſe all the arguments which were for Epiſcopacy, were as weak as ſo many ſtraws to ſupport a cauſe, yet though four ſtraws are not able to ſupport a table, yet fourteen thouſand bound up together in four bundles, will hold it up as firm as ſo many props of Iron; ſo though ſome few practices of ſome few men within ſome few places, are not able to make an argument for Epiſcopacy, that ſhall be evincing, yet the practice of the Church all along for fourteen hundred years, in fourteen hundred Dioceſes, and throughout forty ages, makes good the argument againſt any few *Jack Straws*, or *Wat Tilers* whatſoever.

Ob. But there were no Dioceſan Biſhops in the Primitive times.

Sol.

Sol. Was not Christ a Diocesan Bishop? and was not the World his Diocess? were not the Apostles Diocesan Bishops, when the whole World, divided into twelve parts, were their twelve Dioceſs? were not *Timothy* and *Titus* Diocesan Bishops, when *Creet* and *Ephesus* were allotted to be their Dioceſs?

Ob. There were no Lord Bishops in those daies?

Sol. Those who ruled well were to be accounted worthy of double honour, and will you not allow them a single Lordship?

Ob. The Lords of the *Gentiles* exercised Dominion, but so shall not you.

Sol. No, not such dominion as they exercised, there is a great deal of difference betwixt dominion, and domineering, betwixt Lordship, and lording it over God's Inheritance; a Paternal Government was never accounted intolerable but by unruly Children; if this were not, to be allowed of, how did Christ rule his Apostles? *Paul*, *Timothy* and *Titus*? both these, all the Ministers in *Creet* and *Ephesus*?

Ob. St. *Paul* laboured with his hands that he might not be chargeable to the brethren.

Sol. So might the Bishops if they needed no more to study Divinity than did the Apostles, but if any Benefactor had bestowed large Revenues upon St. *Paul*, I see no reason why he might not be a keeper of Hospitality, as well as he advised *Timothy* so to do: but now *Julians* persecution is reviv'd; *Do not* (saith Julian) *destroy the Christians, but take away the maintenance of the Church,*

Church, and that will bring their Miniſters into contempt, and ſo deſtroy their Religion; and now they are at it; *Libera me, domine* (ſaith St. Auguſtine) *ab homine impio, id eſt, libera me à me*, ſo we had need to pray unto Almighty God, that he would ſave his Church out of the hands of her Church-men, for ſhe now lies upon the ground like the tree that complained, that ſhe was rent in ſunder by wedges made out of her own body.

FINIS.